- Rajmohan Gandhi

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Reformer and First Protagonist of Muslim Nationalism

By: Fazale Kareem

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My previous work, since published under the title of "THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION" had been accorded recognition by the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, as a "Creative work in the field of Religion" and the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo was pleased to award a Certificate in a unique gathering of scientists and intellectuals at Islamabad on 19th March 1987.

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Fazale Kareem

PREFACE

The year 1258 A.D. is regarded by all Muslim historians as the year which marks the beginning of the degeneration of Muslims. On 13th February 1258 the Mongols burst forth from Central Asia and sacked the city of Baghdad, — the city which was the abode of the Caliphs, heart of the Muslim political power and a symbol of the cultural glory of that time in the civilized world. The entire territory where the Muslims ruled from the Hindu Kush ranges to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean was overrun by them and completely devastated. Millions of Muslims were put to death, the entire gentry was wiped out, thousands of scholars, scientists and authors were slaughtered; libraries, treasures of art and buildings which were models of beauty and elegance were plundered. Complete demoralization set in the Muslim world. It was a staggering blow to the Muslim civilization from which it could never again recover.

Precisely 600 years later, the city of Delhi was recaptured by the British, after the abortive revolt, on 20th September 1857 and the beautiful city was sacked by the Sikh soldiers of the British Army and the British troops in the same manner the Mongols sacked the city of Baghdad. Thousands of Muslim families in the affected area of Delhi were wiped out of existence by the British army out of vengeance; their palaces and mansions were razed to the ground and their properties were confiscated. Martial Law was imposed. Muslims were treated by the British as the vanquished army. Delhi,—the cradle of Muslim civilization, was devastated and the last of the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, was condemned to deportation by a sham Court Martial on charges of sedition and rebellion. What an irony! Sovereignty had rested dejure in the person of the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah. The Mughal emperor was a puppet of the British, his prestige was very high and all powerful chiefs of the period—the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the British rendered homage to him, received titles from him and described themselves as his Subedars. Thus the Indian army fought against the

alien agent who usurped. power and was out to subvert their faith; they did not rebel against the monarch.

In fact, the party which mutinied was the British and should be charged with sedition and treachery. Indian army mutiny was not a purely military insurrection; it was a national uprising against the de-facto government in the sense that all communities including Hindus, Muslims, Chiefs and peasants alike, fought shoulder to shoulder. Disraeli had correctly described the nature of the mutiny when he said in the House of Commons on 27th July 1857 that the 'movement was a national revolt and not a military mutiny'. But contemporary Englishmen viewed the outbreak as a Muslim revolt and took terrible vengeance against the Muslim community as a whole. Inhuman atrocities were committed by the British officers and men themselves who felt no shame in proclaiming their own mis-deeds. When the British had the upper hand, burning and hanging expeditions became a matter of routine and no distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty.

"Within a few days of its fall, Delhi was deserted by its inhabitants. Large number had perishe'd at the hands of infuriated soldiers; those who left the city in fear died of exposure and starvation. Enormous treasures were looted and every soldier became rich. All houses, shops, stores were ransacked and looted, their inmates killed, whether they were rebels or not. Women were raped and children butchered." 'The Times' noted: "No such scene has been witnessed in the city of Shah Jahan since the days of Nadir Shah..." In Lucknow and Jhansi the story was the same; massacres, of villagers and sepoys and no questions were asked. A piece of rope, the branch of a tree and the rifle bullet was all that were needed."

Spying had become a profitable profession; many Hindus and even some Muslims took advantage of the opportunity and supplied information to the British government about the activities and whereabouts of those . who had participated in the revolt but had gone underground. These spies won the favour

of the British authorities and were generously rewarded in the form of titles, jagirs and properties. Thus a large number of Hindus became rich jagirdars and landlords overnight while a very large number of affluent Muslim families were either exterminated or were reduced to a state of degradation.

Syed Ahmed stood between two ages,—the medieval age that was dying with the holocaust of the revolt in 1858 and the modern age that ushered in with the consolidation of the British power after the suppression of the revolt. It was at an early age of 19 years that Syed Ahmed Khan entered the service of the East India Company in 1836 and within five years, he had qualified himself for promotion as a sub-judge in 1841. He had seen the Mughal empire in its fading glory as a member of the nobility respected for its learning, piety and political role. He knew very well that there had never been any contact with the West at any level at any time during the Mughal rule. There had been no liaison with the Turkish empire as the Mughals never owed -allegiance to the Caliph. The Indians had been living in total isolation in their own eggshell.

However, a slow revolution was taking place: Telegraph line was opened in 1854 between Calcutta and Agra—a distance of 800 miles and it was extended to Lahore and Peshawar by 1857. The postal system was reformed and a uniform rate of half-anna was being charged for letters. Railways were being contemplated as far back as 1844. 2(X) miles of railway line was already in use by 1857. In 1853 construction of 5,000 miles of railway track was sanctioned to be undertaken by eight private Companies. High schools and colleges were being founded everywhere. Universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. An Arabic college was started in Delhi in 1825 and two years later, English classes were introduced.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

With the introduction of railways' coal mining activity started in Bengal by 1846. The output of Raniganj coal mines in Bengal rose to 90,000 tons. Discovery

of coal provided an added incentive to iron smelting. The Crimean War of 1854 cut off supplies of raw flax and hemp as a result of which improved methods of cultivation of jute in Bengal were introduced. In 1853 an Indian cotton mill was started and raw cotton began to be exported to Britain while, at the same time, manufacturing textiles for the Indian market by Indians was undertaken, providing new avenues for the employment and training of Indians in new techniques. Avenues for overseas employment in British colonies in Sri Lanka, South Africa, British Guiana in South America and in Mauritius brought new opportunities to the unskilled labour as well as small traders. Engineering industry was set up by the Tatas in Jamshedpur.

PRESS

After the founding of the English language newspaper `Statesman' from Calcutta and 'Times of India' from Bombay, Hindus followed by publishing the English Daily `Hindu' from Madras and a little later, another English Daily 'Leader' from Allahabad. Calcutta was not behind in bringing out Bengali and English language newspapers. While these developments were taking place providing for the new Westernised class a sort of continuation of education as well as opening a window on the affairs of India as a whole and the world at large, the North Western Provinces and especially, the Muslim inhabitants, remained unaffected and unconcerned; unfortunately, it was the Muslims as a community which bore the brunt of the savagery and devastation in the aftermath of the Mutiny.

The Battle of Buxar in 1764 and the ignominious Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 should have opened the eyes of the Mughal rulers and the nobility to the fast raceding tide of their fortunes and ignominies to come already staring them in their fact.s; but they remained passive, inert, criminally negligent of their duties unto themselves and the obligations they owed to their countrymen in general and the Muslim community in particular which was the base of their political power and social status. They never bothered to find out what was happening

With in the country and the world beyond the North West Frontier province. The Muslim gentry and the commoners alike were under the spell of degenerate, reactionary pseudo-religious clergy and living under the false pride of their past glory that was no longer to return. The people, it seems, had lost all sense of the ideals of freedom brought up as they were under the oppressive feudal and tribal codes of conduct. When the power passed on to the English, they probably took it as another change of dynasty. It is significant to note that on the eve of the mutiny the British Army consisted of 233,000 Indian soldiers and only 46,000 British troops. The General Services Enlistment Act of 1856 imposed on them the obligation to serve in any part of the world.

The ghastly tragedy and the traumatic experiences of the Mutiny must have left an indelible mark on the thoughtful mind of Syed Ahmed Khan who was forty years old. He loved Delhi dearly and being open minded, he had many dear friends amongst Hindus as well. Raja Jaikishen Das who was knighted in 1869 was his life-long friend. When Syed Ahmed visited Punjab in 1870 he was presented an address of welcome by the Indian Association, Lahore, on behalf of the citizens of Lahore. The President, Dayal Singh, in his address of welcome, said, "We, the members of the Indian Association of Lahore, beg to welcome you to our city with our best wishes and most distinguished sentiments." Eulogizing his services to the cause of Muslim education, the address reads, "Not the least remarkable public career has been the breadth of your feature of you!' views and liberal attitude towards sections of the com-Aligarh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammedans munity other than your co-religionists. Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bias or bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at .... Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant

regard for national interests, while acting in that body, deserve the warmest acknowledgements from us and our countrymen."

While addressing a gathering at Gurdaspur Syed Ahmed told his audience;' "We, (Hindus and Mohammedans), should try to become one heart and soul, and act in unison. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both." "All persons, whether Hindus or Mohammedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation.2 "Doctrinal-ly, he was a broad-minded and tolerant man sincerely appreciative of the Hindus, but as a political and social unit he was of the opinion that the Muslims of India had to work out their own salvation." Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his 'Discovery of India', vindicated the honour of Syed Ahmed in these words: "He was not opposed to the National Congress because he considered it predominantly a Hindu organization ; he opposed it because he thought it was politically too aggressive ... He was in no way anti-Hindu or communally a separatist."

His entire forty years of endeavors and perseverance from 1858 onwards to his last day, on the 27th day of March 1898, were spent in selfless dedication of services to the Indian people and the Muslim community in particular. Syed Ahmed played a dominant role as a reformer, as an educationist and as a statesman in the public life of Muslims in particular and the Indian people in general. Syed Ahmed Khan made history. It is, therefore, only appropriate that for a fuller appreciation and evaluation of his work and place in history and to do him full justice, we shall present him in historical perspective. We shall have to look at the history of the Muslim community of the Indo-Pak subcontinent during the period 1707 to 1858. History, according to a Persian proverb, "is a mirror of the past and a lesson for the present." It would not be an overstatement to say that

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1. Quoted in G.F.I. Graham:" The life and work of Syed Ahmed Khan"
2. H.Kraemer: 'Islam in India Today'

the history of past and, very particularly, the Modern age, commencing from 1858„insofar as the Muslim community is concerned, is very much relevant to our own times and holds lessons that we had better heeded.

Syed Ahmed visited Delhi in September 1857 on hearing of the re-occupation of the city of Delhi by the British forces. He learnt with horror that his maternal uncle's son had been killed and that all his remaining relations had evacuated to the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia outside Delhi, except for his mother and her sister who was blind. They had been turned out of their house and had taken shelter with an old maid servant, Zehan, in her cottage. They had no food to eat and no water to drink. With great difficulty he was able to take them to Meerut. So great were his personal losses that he was heart-broken and shocked at the ghastly sights he had witnessed. In utter dejection, he even thought of migrating to Egypt. But how could he desert his co-religionists in their critical hour? Immediately after the revolt was over, the Government generously rewarded those Indians who had been helpful to the Government in its difficult days. "A big Taluka yielding an annual rental of Rs. 150,000/- was recommended by Mr. Shakespeare, the Collector of Bijnour for Syed Ahmed also but he refused it, for his conscience did not permit him to enjoy an estate the price of which was the blood of his countryman. (It was the estate of a Muslim Rais of Chandpur) In July 1858 Syed Ahmed was promoted as `Sadrus Sadur' and transferred to Moradabad. He was still suffering from acute mental anguish over the tragedy that had befallen his beloved city. Migrating to Egypt from where his ancestors had come, he thought, amounted to deserting his community in its hour of distress which was an act of cowardice. But in the position he came to occupy in the ruling circles and his high judicial post he could be of real service to his people. As a matter of fact, he had interceded on behalf of many respectable Muslims charged with sedition and obtained their honourable acquittal. He stood by the British Government and tire' Englishmen in their hour of crisis and saved their lives at great personal risk and reputation among his co-religionists. Now

1. 'Eminent Mussalmans'

he was determined to save the lives of his co-religionists and countrymen and to redeem their honour.

The Muslim community held political supremacy for over 700 years. Muslims, drawn as they were, from multi-ethnic stock,—Turks, Afghans, Arabs, Mughals and Persians, divided into tribes, owing allegience to their tribes and dynasties, were nonetheless, a distinct community universally called by the non-Muslims of this land as 'Musalmans' there was unity amidst diversity irrespective of colour and ethnic origin. Besides the Turks, Afghans, Arabs, Mughals and Persians, there was a large majority indeed of the Indians who professed Islam and became a part and parcel of the larger Muslim community, completely merging in the cultural and spiritual stream of Islam sharing with equal pride the cultural heritage of Islam and the universal character of Muslims as one `Umma'.

Muslims had been living as one community, jealously maintaining their distinct entity broadly divided into four categories,—Syed, Mughal, Sheikh and Pathan. And in North India, the Muslims of Indian origin maintained with pride their Rajput or Jat or Gujjar descent guarding their distinct entity as Muslims; they took the title of Khan without the least opposition from their Turkish and Afghan fellow Mus-lims and the upper caste Hindus i.e.— the Brahmins and the commercial community freely adopted the title of Sheikh. All of them enjoyed full religious freedom to choose any Sufi order or any The kings and emperors respected the supremacy of `Shari'a' and ti.e judiciary headed by Qazi was independent and the sovereign obeyed the Jurists and Qazis scrupulously as any other Muslim citizen. `Shari'a' was the only binding force that kept the Muslim community into .a well-knit body irrespective of whether the ruler was an Afghan or a Turk or an Arab or Mughal. Their mode of thinking; living and conduct was distinct in all aspects of human life. The exclusiveness of Hindus rigidly governed by their caste system helped to create and strengthen the solidarity or conscious' awareness of Muslims being a distinct and separate community; it remained

buried in their. subconscience; it never occurred to them at any stage during the 700 years. of their political supremacy that they were a nation apart. It erupted only when they lost political supremacy having come under alien rule and a subject race confronting them to supercede and overrun, threatening to degrade them to the status of third class citizens. And above all, their faith,—all that they value in this ephemeral life, was in real danger of being subverted by the alien and their bread and butter being robbed by the rising tide of Hindu nationalism which considered the Muslims as aliens.

Islam is a universal Religion and Muslims as such, are a universal brotherhood transcending the barriers of geography, colour and race. Indeed, the concept of 'Nation' is alien to the spirit of Islam and its very concept is Western. Even in our own times, the Ulema, as a class, think that the concept of 'Nation' is repugnant to the belief in Islam. In the life-time of Syed Ahmed Khan portends of Hindu-Muslim discord had already begun to appear just within ten years of assumption of paramountcy by the British. A few distinguished Hindus proposed that the Urdu language and the Persian script, which was used for writing, should be, as far as possible, discontinued in the courts of Law, and that the Hindi Bhasha, written in Devanagri script should be adopted in its place. The opponents of Urdu wrote a number of spiteful articles suggesting that Urdu should be reserved for Muslims only, while Hindus should be taught in Hindi. And, although they admitted that Hindi was not yet well enough developed for the purposes of translation, they insisted that it could be transformed into a suitable medium.

This proposal of Hindus came as a rude shock to Syed Ahmed Khan who ardently believed in a united India. After considerable thought Syed Ahmed felt convinced that it was now impossible for the Hindus and Muslims to progress as a single nation and it is not possible for any one to work for both of them (Hindus and Muslims) simultaneously. He happened to call on Mr. Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Benares, a few days later and in course of conversation on education, Mr. Shakespeare expressed surprise that Syed Ahmed talked only of

the progress of Muslims and told him,* "this is the first time he had ever heard him talk in terms of the advancement of Muslims alone, rather than in terms of the welfare of the Indian people as a whole. Syed Ahmed's reply was concise; "Now I am convinced that the two communities were incapable of putting their heart and soul into anything requiring mutual effort, and even though the opposition was not yet as serious as it might be, I thought that it would increase largely because of the views of the people who call themselves educated. I assured him that anyone who lived long enough would see the truth of my prediction, and while I agreed with him that it was a matter for great concern and sorrow, I was forced to admit that I had every confidence in that what I had predicted would come about." To Nawab Mohsinul Mulk from London, dated 29 April 1870, Syed Ahmed wrote: "This is a proposal which will make Hindu-Muslim unity impossible the result will be that the Hindus and the Muslims will be completely separated. But in spite of this nasty episode, Syed Ahmed continued to work sincerely for the promotion of unity between the two communities. Hindu national militancy continued to gain strength and showed its ugly head in the form of Hindu-Muslim riots, the worst being in 1893 at Bombay, in which Mr. B.G. Talak, a front-ranking Hindu leader was indicted during the sedition trial held in 1918.

The year 1867 marks the parting of ways and Syed Ahmed's prediction came true. Once convinced that Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible to achieve Syed Ahmed resolved to work whole-heartedly for the Muslim cause. In his opinion, Muslims being in the ratio of 1:4 in the North and overall position in India may not work out to more than ten percent, were a definite minority. It had become necessary to preserve their identity as one people and this was possible only if they were called a "NATION" in terms of Western political concepts. Under the British parliamentary concepts and practice heads are counted for representation in the Councils and when it comes to that, the Muslim will find himself one against four to ten Hindus and lose his legitimate rights, and be gradually overrun

* Maulana Altat Hussain Hall "Hayat-e-Javed-

and subjugated by the Hindu. This was an ugly situation and Syed Ahmed remained watchful without precipitating matters until 12 January 1883 when he was spurred into action and considered it necessary to forewarn his co-religionists of the dangers inherent in the system of representation by election. For the first time Syed Ahmed declared that the 60 million Muslims in India were a nation and India was inhabited by many nations. He gave the Muslims an identity and galvanised them into action as one NATION from Khyber to Kanyakumari and Baluchistan to Assam. It was Syed Ahmed who created the awareness among Muslims that they are a nation apart and must have the right to choose their own representatives with adequate safeguards. Syed Ahmed's speeches delivered on 12th Jan 1883, 28 Dec 1887 and 16 Mar 1888 worked magic. The British Parliament in its Indian Councils Act 1892 accepted the principle of separate representation for Muslims for the first time and introduced in the political constitution of India and latter on, specifically embodied this provision in the Government of India Act of 1909. Muslims have now been accorded the status of a NATION by implication, finally paving the way for the emergence of a sovereign independent state for the Musalmans of India, — Pakistan — on 14 August 1947. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 is indeed, a great achievement and is the result of the sagacity and political foresight of Syed Ahmed Khan. Syed Ahmed Khan, although a government servant, participated in public affairs with a spirit of service, his approach was constructive and his method constitutional, honest and forthright. He was fearless and exhorted his countrymen to stand up like men for their rights without transgressing the bounds of loyalty if they are to be heard and their sentiments respected and grievances redressed. He abhorred agitational politics and kept the Muslim community out of politics because, he thought that the only way to rehabilitate the respectability of the Muslim community lay in reconciliation, co-operation and loyalty. His pamphlet, `The Causes of Indian Revolt' submitted to the British Parliament, considered initially as a piece of seditious literature by most of the British Indian ruling bureaucrats, was found on a more thoughtful reading, to be

honest and constructive criticism and evoked admiration and respect for the author whose unblemished character, guts and unswerving loyalty were amply proved during the Mutiny in 1857. In writing the pamphlet he displayed exemplary courage in bringing out the failings and shortcomings and the atrocities perpetrated by the British rulers which is an ample proof that those who hurled the mean and uncharitable charges on him of being a British stooge are all a bunch of liars who did more harm than good to the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmed Khan had a different opinion and his views were modern,— a hundred years ahead of his bigoted and reactionary compatriots. In 1858 Syed Ahmed was forty, with over twenty years service in the Judiciary. He possessed gifts of head and heart, a towering personality, courage of conviction and a highly developed sense of national pride. He is remembered as the founder of the Aligarh Muslim University, a standing monument to his memory reminding us of his dedicated services to his people in the field of education; Aligarh University is just not another university; it epitomizes a movement for the regeneration and resurgence of the Muslim community leading it from the darkness of medieval age into the light of the 20th century. He is the father of Muslim renaissance. His greatest contribution to the Muslim community of the Indo-Pak sub-continent is that he succeeded in creating in them the awareness of being a separate NATION and succeeded in not only redeeming their honour but also succeeded fully in convincing the British ruling circles and the Englishmen both in India and in England, that the 60 million strong Muslims were not an insignificant minority but were the scions of a ruling race legitimately entitled to. consideration and respect as a NATION apart from the numerically superior Hindu com-munity. For full forty years from 1858 onwards to his last hour on 27th March 1898, he faithfully served his country and his co-religionists with vision, unfailing courage and dignity. He was in the vanguard of the fight for the defence of the rights of Muslims and their culture. He worked indefatigably day and night, for their social and educational

reform and uplift. He bore no animosity for his Hindu countrymen and served their interests with equal fervour in the larger interests of India. Standing prominently among the anti-Muslim forces were the Bengali Hindus who were spearheading the anti-Muslim activities closely followed by the Hindu revivalist Arya Samaj and the militant Mahratta leader Mr. B.G. Tilak and, last but not the least dangerous,—the British sponsored political party, the Indian National Congress, wearing the mask of nationalism adopting the vile game of their masters, 'divide and rule' by dividing the Muslims against Muslims.

Apprehensive of a Russian thrust towards India in 1885 "Sir William Wedderburn* said that in their scheme for the invasion of India the Russian generals depended for success "on a rise for rising of the native population."... earlier, Rippon had written to the Secretary of State: "As the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how much intrigues can be best met and defeated" Hume included, could well see the urgent need of organizing a 'rational interior' as preferable to the building up of 'a scientific frontier' that the proposed Indian National Congress could fulfil these words, was Hume's correct calculation. .... "in-deed, in initiating the national movement, Mr. Hume took counsel with the Viceroy Lord Dufferin."

Syed Ahmed Khan was quick to perceive that the Bengali Hindu would soon dominate the Indian National Congress and covertly use it to seduce and overawe the Muslims for the furtherance of his agitational politics and spreading disaffection against the government. His fears did prove correct and the Viceroy was soon disenchanted. Syed Ahmed warned the Muslims of the grave dangers of association with the misnamed Indian National Congress. The Nationalist Muslims dubbed Syed Ahmed Khan as a traitor and the Ulema of the Deoband seminary were in the forefront of those who

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* Pakistan in the Making - Documents and Readings ' By Lath Ahmed Sherwani.

spread calumny against Syed Ahmed Khan accusing him of heresy, of being a traitor possessed of slavish mentality and many other unutterable invectives. But in spite of all this calumny heaped on Syed Ahmed, his three speeches can be rightly called as a landmark in the history of the evolution of Muslim political thought that culminated in the creation of Pakistan. As against the Muslim opponents and mudslingers, a vast number of eminent Hindu political scientists and writers took a more charitable view of Syed Ahmed and his role in the freedom struggle. The Muslims who so bitterly opposed Syed Ahmed are those very gentlemen who opposed the emergence of Pakistan, and without the least qualm of conscience, migrated to the new state and reaped enormous benefits and have been persistently conspiring with the enemies to undo Pakistan. Syed Ahmed Khan declared that Muslims are one nation and now we talk freely of four nations and none of these exponents of four-nations theory ever mentioned the Kashmiris who by implication, are probably to be treated as non-nationals, Kashmir being a disputed state at the most and they haven't got the courage to pronounce one way or the other. The readers may think that this is not relevant to the life of Syed Ahmed Khan. It is relevant because it was the conviction of Syed Ahmed that Muslims of India arc a nation and Pakistan was achieved on this logical basis—the first ideological state since the Muslims of India arc multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual groups and the only binding force is Islam.

Syed Ahmed advised the Muslims to keep away from the Indian national Congress in spite of the fact that the party was promoted by the British ruling circles and blessed by the Viceroy, and unequivocally declared: "I object to every congress in any shape or form which regards India as one nation" and exposed that body so thoroughly that even the Viceroy, the erstwhile champion of the Indian National Congress, openly indicted the Congress in his speech delivered on St. Andrew's Day Dinner on 30 November 1888. Sir Auckland Colvin, the Governor of the North Western Province was particularly disturbed at the Congress leaders

touring districts and preaching what he called, hostility to the Government. He alleged that the leaders of the Congress exploited the courtesies extended to them by the Government personnel to claim official sympathy with their views. Colvin further alleged that the Congress leaders made every political reform to appear as a concession to their organized effort. The relations between the British Indian bureaucracy and the Congress were so cordial that at the second Congress session held at Calcutta in 1886, Lord Dufferin showed his sympathy by inviting the members of the Congress as 'distinguished visitors' to a garden party at the Government House. If Syed Ahmed Khan had been a loyalist and a slave to the British rulers he should have applauded the British for their largeness of heart but he came out with an outright condemnation of the Congress because his first loyalty was to his own community, — the Indian Musalmans. He was not afraid of the wrath of the Viceroy and the British bureaucracy. He took up the challenge in right earnest, as he was quick to perceive the potential dangers of the rising tide of Hindu communalism wearing the mask of nationalism.

Simply telling the Muslims to keep away from the Congress was not enough. He must counter it at every level on a non-communal basis. He therefore founded 'The Indian United Patriotic Association' and he secured a wide following of social elite from amongst Hindus, Sikhs and other elements from princely states as well who were most interested in a stable administration and in fruitful co-operation between the people and the Government. The Association published pamphlets and newspaper articles expressing the views of these elements on the current issues making useful suggestions and representations to the Government for redress of grievances. Syed Ahmed succeeded in winning over the members of the ruling British bureaucracy and the saner section of the community.

Syed Ahmed was the first in the annals of the seven hundred years of the existence of the Muslim community to point out sharply in course of a speech, at a meeting of the Education Advancement Committee held on 27th December

1886, the absence of co-operation and co-ordination between the Muslims living in different parts of the country. Syed Ahmed said :

> "Such is our plight at this time that although we are called by a single name, that is the Muslim Community, yet the Muslim residents of one place know as little about those of other places as about foreigners. There is no means at our disposal whereby the people of various districts could gather together, get to know each other's conditions, communicate to each other their ideas about national education and national progress, establish mutual affection and sympathy, and achieve a sense of unity.... So uncoordinated arc at present our ideas about national education and national progress that rather than help each other, we arc at cross-purposes with each other... The reason is that we have not yet determined by proper inquiry what is the correct path for us to follow is."

It goes to the credit of Syed Ahmed that he created among the Muslims the awareness that they are a nation and that for the preservation of their identity as a nation they must of necessity co-ordinate with each other on country-wide basis for their progress. To inculcate the consciousness of national unity he worked for the establishment of a MUS-LIM UNIVERSITY exactly on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge Universities catering fully to the religious education along side Western education.

The greatest accomplishment of Syed Ahmed was that he succeeded in securing for the Muslims due representation in services, constitutional safeguards for the Muslims in the local bodies and the higher Councils and above all, the right to separate electorate and tacit recognition by the British rulers that the sixty million (at that time) Muslims constitute a nation and their rights need to he secured through constitutional safeguards to ensure due representation and all this was achieved not through any agitation but by affirmation of loyalty and through the path of conciliation. Syed Ahmed's

colleagues, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk faithfully following in their leader's footsteps—Syed Ahmed's traced out path—consolidated the gains splendidly well and carried them forward keeping pace with the constitutional reforms enacted after the death of Syed Ahmed from time to time. The life of Syed Ahmed from 1858 to 1898 is really the story of the Muslim nation marching onwards, putting up a constitutional fight all along and not the path of agitation so long as it worked and eventually, won for the Muslims a homeland—a sovereign independent state of Pakistan where the Muslims of the sub-continent can live and prosper according to the dictates of their faith and keep pace with civilization. We are, in-deed, greatly indebted to Syed Ahmed for we are enjoying today the fruits of freedom accomplished through his wisdom, foresight and selfless leadership.

As the earliest modernist reformer, Syed Ahmed broke the fetters of medieval thinking and called upon his co-religionists for the reconstruction of religious thought and social order. He said: "It is a great error on the part of the Ahle-Sunnah Wal-Jama't to hold the opinion that the freedom of `Ijtihad' has come to an end and Mujtahids have become non-existent. This doctrine has done immense harm to the Muslims and should now be aban-doned. We should develop a spirit of inquiry and research. Life, in every age brings new problems which had no existence in their times." He called upon the Muslims to: "reflect upon our condition honestly and carefully examine those customs and habits of ours which appear inimical to civilization so as to find out how they originated, that is, whether they crept into us from outside or whether they were amongst us. We must give up those customs that are really bad and obstructive to civilization, reforming those that are capable of being reformed " These arc words full of wisdom addressed to a society which had lost political supremacy and had been enslaved by an alien Christian nation and was in an accelerated pace of being eclipsed by the numerically superior Hindus in social, economic and educational fields facing the prospect of annihilation as had been the case in

Spain by the end of the 15th century.

As the earliest known modernist in Islamic thought, Syed Ahmed played a memorable role. Dr. J.M.S. Baljon, Jr. D.D. in his book, "The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan" says: — "The everlasting and greatest benefit of Syed Ahmed Khan for his country is that he restored the Muslim to faith in himself.... Also at the moment Islam is unthinkable without Ahmed Khan, and self-consciousness and energy of present day Pakistan are essentially the ultimate consequence of the stimulation and inspiration which his magnetic personality gave to his indolent community."

Referring to the voice of dissent by the opponents of Syed Ahmed Khan, he says:

"We cannot agree, therefore, with those voices which, nowadays, in the flush of recently gained independence, are heard in India proclaiming that Ahmed Khan was not only a willing tool in the hands of British imperialists, but even that "he had directed the footsteps of the Mussalmans along ways that fostered in them a slavish mentality instead of self-respect, high-mindedness and breadth of political outlook.- "Indeed it is true that repeatedly he bridled the national passions of the Muslims, and that political agitation, especially "in alliance with the Hindus, was to him, wandering in the dangerous fields of sterile emotionalism.".. "But his aloofness from political affairs, so incomprehensible to India of to-day, was exactly a proof of his political wisdom and his sense of realism.".. "for India and particularly for Muslim India of his day, patience and self-restraint, combined with a keen eye for what were in the given circumstances the possible i.e., the spiritual means for the preparation for the future self-rule, were certainly more urgently required than the stirring up of a futile second mutiny a nightmare which haunted Syed Ahmed all his life."

"Of the need of a re-orientation of Islamic religious thought in the sub-continent there could be no doubt. In the long period of their decline in the

1. Mahadev Desai..Maulana Ahul Kalam Azad '
2. II. Kraemer Islam in India Today

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Muslims had lost touch with the new forces of civilization. Nor had they had any direct experience of the conflict between religion and science which was so marked a feature in the Western thought in these centuries. To close their eyes to the inevitable reactions which were bound to affect the religious beliefs of those who were taught modern sciences would not have been of any advantage to them. Syed Ahmed Khan foresaw this danger fairly early. He there-fore decided to present a modernized picture of Islam, for he knew that the fundamental doctrines would not prove to be a hindrance to the path of scientific studies and progress."

Maulana Hali refers in this connection to a Council appointed by the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Abdul Aziz, to consider the question and to submit a report. It had been definitely established that there was nothing in Islam which could be declared to be an obstacle in the path of progress. There were certain practices and ideas which had been adopted by the Muslims of earlier centuries, and undoubtedly were useful in the conditions of those days, but in the modern period they would have to be abandoned.

In the Indian context it was a hard task to determine the nature of these practices, but Syed Ahmed who held similar views took up the challenge and decided to undertake to eliminate such customs which had no sanction in religion. In his writings in 'The Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq', he introduced a new style of prose, plain and simple yet enriched with new vocabulary conveying new ideas about national pride, and national self-respect.

Syed Ahmed's greatness lay in the breadth of his vision and love of his co-religionists in spite of their fierce opposition. He traced out a carefully guarded path for the progress of the Muslims in the field of acquiring knowledge of English and Western sciences for successful participation in the constitutional progress towards self-government. He realized that democracy was on the march in Europe and the theory of the divine right of kingship was a thing of the past and

that only the intellectually alert and advanced in education, science and technology would survive and prosper as a respectable people in the comity of nations of the world. What is more, he succeeded in building up a base for the emergence of new leadership to fulfil his dream of preparing the Muslims for the struggle ahead for securing their legitimate rights as a nation, for he knew very well that the constitutional reforms on the anvil and the direction they were destined to take ultimately could only be freedom from the British rule and Hindu domination. The constitutional reforms announced progressively in 1909, 4919 and 1935 ultimately followed by the Indian Independence Act of 1947 making provision for the setting up of two, independent Dominions — Pakistan and India, clearly vindicated the fond hopes he enshrined in his heart. Undoubtedly, Sir Syed Ahmed was the greatest thinker and reformer in contemporary Muslim world and very particularly in the strange and unusual context of the Indian Muslim community of his day.

Fazale Kareem

Chapter 1

LINEAGE EARLY LIFE
AND EDUCATION

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the father of Muslim renaissance and resurgence as a nation and a political force in the Indo-Pak sub-continent was born on 17th October 1817 at Delhi in an illustrious family of Syed nobility tracing its descent from Hazrat Imam Hussain. Syed Ahmed's great great grandfather, Syed Burhan had migrated from Iran during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan and entered the service of the Mughal Emperor, holding respon-sible civil and military posts. Syed Ahmed's grandfather, Syed Mohammed Hadee, was decorated with the titles of `Jawahid Ali Khan' and `Jawad ud Dawla', commander of 1000 foot, 500 horsemen during the reign of Alamgir II. Syed Ahmed's father, Syed Mohammed Muttakee (Mir Muttakee) was a religious recluse and he declined politely the honours and titles of his father as he had no liking for the court life. Yet, he commanded great respect. However, he re-estab-lished his contact with the Mughal court on account of his personal friendship, on the accession of Akbar Shah (who reigned from 1806 - 1837). Thus, on account of his ancestral titles, Syed Ahmed came to be known as Syed Ahmed Khan.

Syed Ahmed's father, Mir Muttakee, enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Shah Ghulam Ali, the ruling saint of the Mujaddidi Order founded by Sheikh Ahmed of Sir-hind, better known as Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani (1564 - 1624)— the Reviver of Faith. It was after his name that the new born was named by the saint Shah Ghulam Ali when Mir Muttakee presented his infant son for blessings. Shah Ghulam Ali was a close friend of Shah Abdul Aziz, the illustrious son of Shah Wali-u'llah of Delhi. Syed Ahmed received his first lessons in Arabic from Shah Ghulam Ali. In his youth, Syed Ahmed was well built, burly and refined. He inherited the manly skills of his father who excelled in archery and swimming as also the benign qualities that distinguished his father. Mir Muttakee cared little for worldly honours and spent his life, contented and carefree, without the least inclination for worldly advancement although he enjoyed the personal friendship of the reigning emperor Akbar Shah II. He was a religious recluse. Therefore, Syed Ahmed remained largely under the care of his maternal grandfather, Khwaja Farid ud Din. Descendant of a line of commanders and administrators since emperor Shah Jahan, Mir Muttakee's ancestral mansion was located near Jama Masjid in a prestigious locality but it had frequently been the target of Mahratta and Jat freebooters. So Mir Mut-takee, discreetly, moved to his father-in-Law's haveli— a huge palatial building in a comparatively more secure part of the city.

Khwaja Farid ud Din was an accomplished gentleman, statesman, linguist and mathematician, descending from a saint,—Khwaja Mohammad Yusuf of Hamdan. On recommendation from General Martin and other high government officials, Khwaja Farid-ud-Din was appointed Superintendent of Madressah-i-Aliyah, Calcutta. Lord Wellesley was impressed by the diplomatic skill of Khwaja and sent him to Iran as an Attache of the British Embassy in which post he acquitted himself with credit. Recognizing his talents, the Company appointed him political officer at the Court of Ava in Burma. lee returned to Delhi in 1810 after 13 years' service under the East India Company. When Lord Lake conquered

(1803) and entered Delhi, Khwaja Farid was in Iran. Khwaja's friend and patron, the Boston-born General David Ochterlony, resident at the Mughal court, was appointed Commander of Delhi Garrison and fortress of Al-lahabad from 1810 - 1815. It was in 1815 that Akbar Shah II offered Sycd Muttakee the position of Prime Minister. Syed Muttakee suggested instead, that his father-in-law, Khwaja Farid would make a better choice because of his vast experience as a statesman of recognized merit and in the good books of the Governor General and high ranking British officers. Akbar Shah accepted the recommendation and sent for Khwaja Farid-ud-Din from Calcutta. For eight years—with a brief broken period — Khwaja Farid served the Mughal emperor until 1822, as Prime Minister. He resigned in 1822 due to differences. (1) "A few weeks after his resignation, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent his envoy to Delhi to invite Khwaja Farid to Lahore as his Prime Minister with a purse of Rupees thirty thousand for his expenses. Such was the reputation Khwaja Farid ud Din enjoyed as a states-man and administrator. However, his eldest daughter, mother of Syed Ahmed, advised him with cogent arguments not to accept the offer because of the clash of interests that may develop between the Sikh kingdom and the powerful expanding political power of the British which may ultimately over-power and finish Ranjit Singh's kingdom. The old statesman listened to his daughter's advice and politely turned down the offer."

When Sycd Ahmed was born in 1817, his maternal grandfather, Khwaja Farid-ud-Din was the Prime Minister of Akbar Shah H enjoying personal friendship of high ranking British civilians and military officers, who used to make regular courtesy calls on him at his residence. The most frequent visitor was General David Ochterlony in his resplendent uniform with medals and feathers in his hat, and young Syed Ahmed would sit in his lap. Khwaja Farid died in 1828. Syed Ahmed was eleven years old.

Syed Ahmed had the good fortune of flying under the loving care of the most accomplished and distinguished statesman of his times,—a gentleman who

had the best education and the unique distinction of being a mathematician. Young Syed Ahmed must have learnt a lot about the events of his contemporary world at first hand. The old statesman was a very strict disciplinarian and must have exercised a lot of influence on his grandson at his impressive age. Throughout his adult life, Syed Ahmed cherished the sweet memories of his grandfather with the' highest regard and wrote his biography as a lasting homage, under the title `Sirat-i-Faridiyah' in 1893.

EARLY EDUCATION

Syed Ahmed received a fairly good elementary education in subjects taught in his time," in the madressahs. His education was strictly traditional—he was taught Arabic, Persian and recitation of the Holy Ouran under the wise guidance of his mother, Aziz al-Nisa, who was a great lady. Upto his twelfth year his mother would make him repeat to her at night what he had learnt during the day. He did not learn English. He studied some books in Arabic syntax, grammar, logic and philosophy a few elementary text books of mathe-matics, algebra and geometry under the guidance of his uncle. He also studied medicine in the clinic of Hakim Ghulam Hyder Khan and practised medicine under his guidance for some months until he was eighteen. He was not a brilliant student and he gave up education. It was only after about ten years' service in the judiciary—at the age of 29 years, that he felt the lecessity of advanced education and started in right earnest like a keen student to study under accomplished scholars of Delhi—the subjects were Fiqh and Jurisprudence.

EMPLOYMENT

Mir Muttaakee died in 1836. It was a great tragedy to the family. Mir Muttakee had been drawing stipend from the Mughal court and owned some agricultural land. The stipend was small and irregular but the family was just above want. With the death of Mir Muttakee, the stipend ceased. Syed Ahmed had to seek a job to earn- a living. He was just nineteen years old. Much against

the wishes of the family he joined the service of the East India Company as a Serish-tadar in the court of his uncle who was Sadr Amin in Delhi. In February 1839 he was transferred to Agra as Naib Munshi or Deputy Reader in the office of the Commissioner of that Division. In December 1841 he became Munsif or Sub-Judge of Fathcpur Sikri. He was transferred back to Delhi in 1846. Syed Ahmed had embarked on a literary career by that time and had gained due recognition as a budding author. At that time permanent settlement was being introduced in some districts of the Agra Division. To expedite the work of settlement and streamline the administrative procedures, Syed Ahmed drafted a (2) "Dasture al Amal"— a transcript and Analysis of Settlement Regulations followed a year later by lam-i-Jam'—A history of Mughal Dynasty in Persian (1840) Intikhab al-Akhawayn'—A Civil Law Digest—which he had compiled to achieve promotion to the position of Munsif (small cause judge). He succeeded in the competitive examination and was appointed Munsif at Mainpuri in 1841. A year later he was transferred to Fathep.ur Sikri. His intel-lectual and professional labours were appreciated and com-mended by the Commissioner of Agra, Sir Robert Hamilton who gave Sycd Ahmed a letter of introduction addressed to Col Lindsay which reads:-

My dear Lindsay

> It is not my habit to introduce people, but the bearer has been studying for employment, and you will see the fruits of his labour in his 'Transcript and Analysis of the Regulations'. He is of good family, and -I had intended to give him a situation which he deserves for his assiduity and exertions, if you will do something for him. He is very timid, but clever. Named Syed Ahmed.

Two years earlier, in 1842, he was received in audience by the Emperor Bahadur Shah II and decorated with his grandfather's title of "Javad ud Daula" and

the additional title of `Arif Jung'. It may be interesting to recall that during the reign of Akbar H, his father was offered the title along with Prime Ministership by the emperor but he thanked his Majesty for this signal honour and mark of favour and represented that the best man for the post is his father-in-law— Khwaja Farid-ud-Din and the emperor readily acted on this advice and appointed him Prime Minister with the title of Nawab Dabir-ud-Daula Amin-ul-Mulk Khwaja Farid-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Masleh Jung. It was in 1815 and two years after i.e. 1817, Syed Ahmed was born.

TRAGEDY AND TURNING POINT
— A BUDDING AUTHOR

Syed Ahmed was a merry and happy-go-Jucky type of young man enjoying gay parties. His father, Mir Muttakee died in 1836 and his eldest brother, Syed Mohammad died in 1846 at the age of 38. He loved his brothev dearly for he had been his closest friend and a tower of strength to him. Syed Ahmed could not bear the loss. He gave up, all gaiety and fun and his whole life was transforincd; and with it, his pattern of life. No more finery. He adopted simple clothes worn by ultra-orthodox Muslims, grew a long beard and shaved his head. He threw himself heart and soul to make up for lost time in education and pursue private study. His labours bore fruit and his latent intellect shone forth. During hiS slay in Delhi, keeping company with his mother to con-sole her in her bereavement, he applied himself diligently to self-study. He had got himself transferred to Delhi in 1846 on compassionate grounds to remain by the side of his mother and remained in Delhi until 1855. During this period he wrote many books and made a mark as an author. His second publication, original research work.7"Asar-us-Sanadid" which is partly an archaeological history and partly a biographical encyclopaedia of contemporary personalities of the city (Delhi) with a list of 142 Hindu and 59 Muslim rulers who reigned from 1400 B.C. to 1853 A:D. He gave a list of various cities and fork which have composed it (Delhi)— nineteen in all. This hook won

him international fame and, in recognition, Syed Ahmed was made an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society. The book was published in 1844 and it was his second literary work. A French translation of the book by M. Garcin de Tassey was widely appreciated and procured for Syed Ahmed Khan the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society. The letter conferring this distinction is reproduced below :

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
5, NEW BURLINGTON STREET, LONDON,
20th July 1864

(3) Dear sir,

I have great pleasure in bringing to your notice that at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, held on July 4th, you were unanimously created an honorary member of the Society. The Diploma seconding your election will be sent out to you as soon as a safe opportunity offers. In congratulating you on this well deserved mark of distinction, I trust, it may be gratifying to you to know that your re-searches on Indian antiquities are duly appreciated, both in this country and abroad

Your most obedient

RETNOLD ROST
SECRETARY

A second edition of this work was published in 1854. "(4) The archaeological section, comprising three chapters, deals with 232 buildings of all kinds— forts, palaces, mosques, mausoleums, assembly halls, towers, gardens, places of public

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4" Quoted from .Syed Ahmed Khan' by Hadi Hussain

entertainment, wells, bridges etc in nineteen different zones of Delhi, each representing a period of its chequered history between 1400 B.C. and 1847 A.D. The origin and nature of each building and the important events connected with it were ascertained with the help of such inscriptions as were extant and decipherable, checked with popular traditions and available historical references.

The work was first published in 1847 and was presented to The Royal Asiatic Society by A.A. Roberts, magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanabad.

The other notable work,— a major work of scholarship, was a revision of Abul Fazal's 'Ain-i-Akbari' in three volumes. A revealing incident connected with Syed Ahmed's revision of the 'Ain-e-Akbari' is worth recording. It was fashionable in those days for commendatory remarks, some-times in verse, by eminent personalities to be appended to new publications. In accordance with this practice, presumably at Syed Ahmed's request, Mirza Ghalib sent him a few lines in Persian verse in the form of a `Mathnavi'. In those lines he paid compliments to the labour Syed Ahmed had expended on the work but characterised as labour wasted. It was, he said, not the inventions and innovations of Akbar and Abul Fazal which deserve to be exhibited and admired but those of the British and he described Syed Ahmed's dressing up of antiquity in a new garb as an inappropriate exercise of his talents. "This must have aptly served Syed Ahmed as a timely remonstrance for living too much in the past instead of occupying himself with the wonderful new things happening around." The remonstrance of Mirza Ghalib was apt in those times of decadence.

`Ain-e-Akbari' edited and published in three volumes is considered most authentic and was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1862.

Another monumental work on History edited by. Syed Ahmed, 'Tariq-e-Feroze Shahi' by Ziauddin Burni— (A history of the early Muslim rulers of Delhi) was considered most authentic and published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1862 with an introduction by Syed Ahmed Khan. Yet another outstanding contribution

to Urdu literature rendered by Syed Ahmed. was an Urdu translation of Edward Gibbon's `Decline and Fall of Roman Empire'—he had it translated personally at a cost of rupees six hundred and published it in 1863.

Syed Ahmed produced voluminous literature in his lifetime,—both in quantity and quality—no Muslim author has contributed so much in our times, as may be seen from the impressive list of his works attached at the end of this chapter. Syed Ahmed was the first Asiatic to be honoured as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and only two Indian Muslims are known to have attained to this prestigious honour uptil 1947 and no Pakistani has attained this honour until now.

DECAY AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE—THE WANING GLORY

Syed Ahmed was born at a critical period of the history of the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It was the period of the waning glory of the Mughal empire and in its twilight existed the last of the three Mughal emperors: Shah Alam II (1759-1806), Akbar Shah II (1806 - 1837) and, finally, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837 - 1858). It was during the reign of Shah Alam II, that Delhi witnessed two invasions which shook the empire from end to end. The first, by Nadir Shah in 1739 and the second by Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1761, leaving in their trail anarchy and chaos. And the last war, in 1764 by a confederacy led by the emperor himself against the British to regain and restore the falling prestige of the empire resulted in a total defeat at Buxer in October 1764 - just within seven years of the battle of Plasscy. It was the first alliance to try to wipe out the British influence in India. Under the Treaty of Allahabad dictated by the British (1765), the Emperor Shah Alam II bestowed on the East India Company the Diwani of Bengal and Orissa—the right to administer and collect revenue. In return for the rights so conferred, the Emperor was granted a 'pension' of rupees 26 lakhs per annum and virtually

taken into protection and he remained as such, until his return to Delhi in 1772 from Allahabad. Najib ud Daulah, who had been for nearly ten years (since the 3rd Battle of Panipat), the dictator at Delhi died in Oct 10th 1770. On 9th Feb 1771 the Marhattas, with whom Shah Alam had been in negotiations for his restoration on the throne at Delhi, had captured the city after bombardment and made it over to the Emperor. Thus Shah Alam II entered the imperial capital after twelve years of poverty and humiliation, on Jan 1782. Shah Alam was deposed and blinded (July, 1788) by his Afghan courtier Ghulam Qadir, princes were flogged and princesses were dishonoured. The entire palace area inside and outside, was completely ravaged for plunder. The Afghan rule lasted for two-and-a-half months. Scindia, when he heard of these in-cidents, sent a force to occupy Delhi. Delhi was occupied by Marhattas, Ghulam Qadir was pursued, captured and executed. Shah Alam now passed into the care of Marhattas until the occupation of_ Delhi by Lord Lake. Shah Alam was taken back into British protection in 1803, after the defeat of Mahrattas.

The last two emperors were pensioners, physically safe from the horrors and indignities but shorn of all power, held shadow court in the Red Fort. Until the final reduction of the Marhatta confederacy in 1818, the British power remained largely confined to the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal and they could not protect the Emperor Shah Alam II from the physical violence,, indignities and humiliations suffered by the Emperor and the Royal fami-ly—and the people at large, at the hands of his own -cour-tiers, Marhattas and the Rohillas so long. However, (5) "the Governor General always showed the Emperor all marks of respect, described himself as a humble servant (fidwi) and in conformity with the prevailing practice of the Mughal court, waited on the Emperor and made the customary `Nazar' of 101 guineas. In return, the Emperor gave him khillat' and titles which the Governor General used in all official documents. Until 1835, the Company struck coins in the name of the Emperor. In 1816 the Company discontinued the practice of giving 'Nazar' to the Mughal

Emperor as it considered it-to be a symbol of inferior status. "How the British turned from a Trading Company to grabbers of territory and ultimately gaining poltical supremacy and domination within a course of 100 years of the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 is a long story of perfidy, subtle intrigue and treachery, aggravated by the debased and deprived mughal nobility and ambitious warring chiefs. The 18th and 19th centuries were indeed an age of decadence, degeneration and degradation for the Muslims of the sub-continent, and in contrast, for the British people and the people of Europe, it was an age of enlightenment and progress in literature, science and technology and political power and domination over the Muslims throughout the world. It was not until the middle of 20th century that we have been able to shake off the political domination and attain independence.

The life of a great man is invariably the history of his people and his country. Sir Sycd Ahmed Khan lived to the ripe old age of 81. At the age of 21, he joined the service of the East India Company in 1838. When Mutiny broke out, he was 40. He went through the traumatic experience and the worst carnage that had engulfed the Muslims in 1857 and had seen with his own eyes from a responsible position the depths of degradation and humiliation that had become the lot of the Muslim community. From 1857 onwards to the very last hours of his life in March 1898,—a period of 41 years, were spent in the service of his people. He served his people,—the Muslims, with untiring energy, total devotion and dedication. His honesty of purpose as an educationist and as an ardent reformer for the social and educational uplift and the cultural regeneration of Muslims, and as a fighter in the defence of his down-troden people, he dis-played such courage of conviction, guts and courage that baffles the bravest and, at last, evoked the admiration of the British rulers and won their sympathy as well for the cause he espoused. In order to assess the value, worth and great-ness of this benefactor of the Muslim community, it is only appropriate that we should survey, in brief, the

condition of Muslims in the 18th century. The life and work of Sir Syed Ahmed`Khan may rightly be considered the first phase of the struggle of Muslims of the sub-continent to emerge as a sovereign independent nation in their own right in our times in August 1947—exactly within ninety years of the first war of independence in 1857.

MUSLIMS IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

The Arabs had commercial relations with southern India long before the advent of Islam. The commercial contacts were continued by the Muslim Arab traders who introduced their new Faith of Islam to the West coast of India. With traders came missionaries and many Indians. were converted to Islam. The coming of Islam was the first major impact on the Indian society. The first Muslim conquest of Sind under Muhammad Bin Qasim in 711 A.D. came only as a punitive expedition. The Brihmin rulers of Sind had sent their legions earlier to help the Persians against the Muslims. During the governorship of Hajjaj, some Arab rebels crossed the border into Sind and had taken shelter with Raja Dahir. However, the immediate cause of the Arab invasion was provided by the incident of plunder of some ships carrying the families of Arabs who had died in Ceylon and the gifts sent by the ruler of Ceylon to the Caliph. The pirates belonged to Daibul and Hajjaj demanded of the Raja to release the captives, return the gifts and punish the pirates. Raja Dahir refused to take action. So a punitive expedition was sent to punish the Raja. Muhammad Bin Qasim led a successful campaign. Raja Dahir was killed on the battlefield. Muhammad Bin Qasim pushed forward, captured Brahamanabad near Hyderabad, Schwan and Multan. The object was fully achieved and Muhammad Bin Qasim was recalled in 713. Sind was no more bothered and the Muslim community continued. to flourish for three centuries until the invasion of Sultan Mahmud in 1000 A.D who annexed Multan in 1006.

After a gap of another 150 years, Ghiyas-ud-Din Muham-mad Ghori, invaded India-in 1175, taking Peshawar in 1178, Sialkot in 1185, Lahore in 1186

and he finally defeated Prithviraj in the Battle of Tarain in 1192 and captured Ajmer. His successor, Qutbuddin Aibak, captured Delhi and Meerut in 1195 and founded the Sultanate of Delhi. Five dynasties ruled Delhi successively, one after another, until the Khiljis and Tughlaqs when the extent of the empire spread from North to the farthest south—greater than that of Asoka. Muslim rule continued to flourish until the death of Aurangzeb, the great Mughal emperor, in 1707. After the death of Aurangzeb, wars of succession followed. Aurangzeb, left four sons. Prince Muazzam emerged successful and as-cended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah. The empire was in shambles. The Rajputs, Sikhs and Mahrattas were in revolt. Rising ambitions of the governors, intrigues and treachery apart, very considerably plagued and weakened the empire. Bahadur Shah I lived for just about 5 years but, in spite of very considerable odds, he main-tained the dignity of the empire. Another war of succession followed. For the following seven years, the Mughal throne was occupied, by five kings in succession. They were all incompetent, corrupt and degenerate. Some of the nobles became kingmakers. The notorious Sycd Brothers became so powerful that with the help of Mahrattas they seized the person of the emperor Farruksiyar, dragged and blinded him, imprisoned and finally put him to death. After Farruk-siyar, they put two phantom emperors in quick succession and then, a third, Muhammad Shah in 1719, who occupied the throne from 1719 to 1748. India was in a state of anarchy and the empire was crumbling.

INVASION OF NADIR SHAH

It was during the reign of Muhammad Shah that another crushing blow to the tottering empire was received at the hands of Nadir Shah in 1739. Nadir Shah was undoubtedly the greatest king Persia had produced. Rising from humble beginnings, he rose to power and in 1736, he deposed Shah Tahmasp, replacing him by his infant son designated as Shah Abbas HI and himself declared to be the Regent. Thus, he usurped the throne and when the infant Shah died, Nadir got himself elected Shah in 1736. To put down the rebellious

Afghans, he captured Qandhar and proceeded to invade Kabul to punish the Afghan fugitives. Both Qandhar and Kabul were Mughal. territory. The Mughal governor fled to Peshawar. As kings know no morals, Nadir Shah crossed the Indus in 1739, captured Peshawar and then Lahore and marched on Karnal. Peace was negotiated and the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah went in person to the Pcrsian Camp. Nadir Shah agreed to return to his country. Accord-ing to the treaty, Nadir Shah was to be given 50 lakh .rupees. To what depths of wickedness. and meanness the nobility of the decadent Mughal court could stoop may be illustrated by the following incident :— Sa'adat Khan, the Nawab of Oudh, jealous of the growing power of Nizam ul Mulk, approached Nadir Shah and sabotaged the Treaty by exciting the cupidity of the conqueror by suggesting that the Shah could have demanded more and the 50 laks he bargained for is far. too little. Nadir Shah now demanded 20 crores of rupees and asked Muhammad. Shah. to come to the Persian camp. Muhammad Shah complied in good faith but was taken prisoner. Nadir Shah entered Delhi and occupied the Mughal palace. Incidentally, the inhabitants of Delhi attack-ed, some Persian soldiers out on a looting spree. As. reprisals Nadir Shah ordered a general massacre. Thousands of innocent citizens were put to sword and enor-mous wealth fell into the hands of Nadir Shah. The famous Kohi.-i-noor diamond and the 'Peacock' throne were seized. The king and the nobles were deprived of their jewels. The great tragedy that had befallen the inhabitants of Delhi in which thousands were massacred was due to the treachery and jealousy of an ambitious courtier—vile, vicious and am-bitious Sa'adat Khan, the ancester of the House of Oudh, who sabotaged the excellent terms of peace with honour negotiated and obtained by Nizam ul Mulk. Nadir Shah's invasion hastened the downfall of the Mughal empire and destroyed its prestige. The Afghans from the North West and the Mahrattas from the south were encouraged in their rising ambitions. Yet another menace was stalking and that was the rise of the East India Company who came as traders but were now building up military and political power.

EUROPEAN CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY IN INDIA AND THE RISE OF BRITISH POWER
The Mughal emperor Aurangeb was the first to take notice of the menace arising from the incursions of the European powers and the rising power of the British East India Company. Portuguese were the first to reach the In-dian shores as traders and soon, went on a conquering spree with all the higotory of Christianity and with a particular animosity and hatred against Muslims. Even before the founding of the Mughal Empire by Zahiruddin Babur in 1526 the Portuguese came to India from the sea as traders. Dis-covery of a direct sea route to India in 1498 by Vasco de Gama changed the course of human history by throwing open the doors of Asian mainland to the European adven-turers and conquerors who grew into strong maritime powers. Since time immemorial India had commercial inter-course with the Western countries dating back to Alexander's invasion of the Indus in 327 BC. Between 515 and 520 BC Sind remained incorporated in the Persian empire. The expansion of the Roman empire further en-couraged and facilitated trade and commerce through the overland routes of Egypt and up to the Persian Gulf through Syria. But these old routes remained barred for the Western powers with the rise of the Arab power in the early 7th century A.D. Some trade routes which passed through central Asia were also closed to the Western powers with the conquest and capture of Constantinopole by the Turks in 1493. Eurpocan trade with the East was, however, con-ducted by Genoese and Venetians and the Europeans who had no Mediterranean port were excluded from the Eastern trade. From the time the direct sea route was discovered in 1498 reaching the port of Calicut, the Portuguese started building up settlements and occupying territory in the East. As early as 1505 the Portuguese felt themselves strong enough to appoint Francisco De Almeida as governor in India with special instructions to build fortresses and con-solidate their power. In 1509 the post was upgraded and Alfonse de Albuquerque was appointed Governor General.

He captured the rich port of Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur. He occupied Malacca in 1511 in South East Asia and Ormuz on the coast of Persia. He fortified Goa which increased in commercial importance and remained the bas-tion of Portuguese power until 1948 when it was occupied by the Indian army. During his administration he bitterly persecuted Muslims. They had pushed upto Hugli and the Portuguese pirates were ravaging the Bengal coast and had occupied Chittagong. The Mughal emperor Shah Jahan ousted them from Hugli in 1632 and they lost Salsette and Bassein to Mahrattas in 1737. Under instructions from the emperor Aurangzeb, Shaista Khan reoccupied Chittagong and gave the Portuguese such a thorough beating that they never again dared to encroach the Bengal coast. The Portuguese were brutal and they gloated over the fact that they put every Muslim they could find to sword and put the mosques on fire with the bodies of Muslims. Hindus were equally repressed and during their occupation of Ceylon (1658 - 1795) they put most of the male members to sword and forced every man to accept Christianity. The Portuguese ambitions to establish an empire were smashed for ever. Shaista Khan turned out the British as well from Bengal and Surat in 1698. It may be interesting to recall the events leading to this drastic action. The emperor Jehangir granted a firman to the British East India Company allowing them to build a factory and trading facilities at Surat in 1613. Sir Thomas Roe, duly accredited ambassador to the Mughal court, stayed until 1619, wanted to conclude a commercial treaty guaranteeing trading facilities but the idea of commer-cial treaty was not approved by the emperor. Instead, he allowed them permission to establish factories and commer-cial facilities at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad and Borach. The British defeated the Portuguese on the coast of Persia cap-turing Ormuz which remained in British hands ever since. The Eastern coast offered better opportunity after the fall of Vijayanagar kingdom in 1565. In 1611 the British East India Company established a factory at Muslipatam. Their postition improved with the firman granted by the Sultan of

Golconda in 1632 which granted them trading rights in some parts of Golconda on payment of some dues. The most important of such places was Madras which site they pur-chased from the Raja of Chandragiri and with his permission they built fortifications and named it Fort St. George. The British turned northwards and built a string of settlements in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, all subordinate to Madras. In 1661 the Portuguese ceded Bombay as their trade on the western coast had declined. Cromwell was the first of the British rulers to understand the national value of Indian trade and the Company as the agent of commercial expan-sion and in 1657, he granted a Charter which enabled these companies to unite and raise a permanent joint and limited stock. King Charles II was even more favourably disposed towards the Company. He transferred Bombay to the Com-pany—a piece of Portuguese territory he received in dowry—on an annual rent of 10/-. Further, recognising the unhelpful political conditions in India and the need to acquire territory he authorised the Company to wage war and conclude peace with non-Christian princes and to appoint governors to ex-ercise civil and criminal jurisdiction at various settlements. Under this Charter, Madras and Bombay were raised to the status of presidencies under governors (1661).

BRITISH ON WAR PATH — BRITISH AGGRESSION DURING AURANGZEB'S REIGN REPULSED During the last quarter of the 17th century, the Company fell into arrears to the extent of £ 281, 250/- in its transac-tions with the merchants in Surat. There was constant fric-tion betwen the Mughal officials and the Company over the payment of custom duties and the British merchants taking undue advantage of the concessions by defraudins the government of large sums. The Company found it incon-venient to pay the arrears and adopted militant warlike policies. It started to fortify Hugli settlement. London sent out troops and ships with orders to capture Chittagong. The

British captured the Mughal forts at Thana and stormed fortifications at Balasore. The hostilities started in 1686. In retaliation, Shaista Khan seized all British factories within reach, repulsed the British from Hugli, compelling them to retire to an unhealthy place at the mouth of the river. London sent fresh reinforcements under William Heath who stormed the Mughal fort at Balasore, committing most in-human atrocities, rescued the British at Hugli but failed to capture. Chittagong and sailed away to Madras. On the Western coast, the governor of Bombay, Sir John Child, seized the Mughal vessels and sent his forces to Red sea and the Persian Gulf to arrest piligrims to Mecca. The Mughals captured the British factory at Surat, blocked Bom-bay and ordered the expulsion of the British from the Indian soil. Britain had to pay dearly for its aggression and misad-venture against India during the reign of emperor, Aurangzeb. The Mughals were a massive land power. The Company, no match for the Mughals, sought peace. The Mughals, on their part, also desired cessation of hostilities as they could not challenge the British at sea. In 1690, Aurangzeb imposed a heavy fine on the Company, ordered it to restore the goods captured from the Mughal ships and pay all the dues of Indian merchants and, at the same time, granted the Company a new license for trade. After the conclusion of peace in 1690, the British were permitted to establish a factory at Sutnati and permitted to fortify the settlement after the revolt of the zemindar of Burdaban, the fortified factory was named in 1700 as Fort William. It was the period of great profit to the Company. In 1682, the Company became so rich that it could pay 50% dividend and declare a bonus of double that figure. The British government sent another mission to the Mughal court during the rule of Farruksiyar in 1715. The Company obtained three firmans granting them many more privileges. Its officials could reside anywhere they wanted, they were exempt from additional customs duty on exports and imports in exchange for Rs. 3000/- a year in Bengal and Rs. 10,000/- a year in Surat. It was allowed to buy additional

lands around Calcutta. In Madras, its goods were exempted from customs in all the ports of Golconda and the existing rents were confirmed. It could mint coins at Bombay which could have currency throughout the Mughal empire. These were all unusual privileges conceding the Company to vir-tually establish a parallel government of their own within the Mughal empire. Let us not forget that Farruksiyar had be-come a puppet in the hands of the Sycd Brothers at that time. The new presidencies thus grew in unprecedented prosperity. In the beginning of the 18th century, the French and the British were the only European powers in competition on the Indian soil. However, the French influence was exclusive-ly confined to the South. The British influence had not reached the north and they remained wholy unconcerned and unmoved by the political upheavals taking place in the North causing the disintegration of the Mughal empire. Revolt of the Sikhs and the rise of the Mahratta power in the North, the invasion of Nadir Shah in Feb 1739 and the sack of Delhi, the rise of Mahrattas who overran Rajasthan and captured the whole of Punjab and the five successive in-vasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali and the sixth invasion cul-minating in the decisive 3rd Battle of Panipat in which the Mahrattas ambitions were completely smashed remained un-noticed, probably through discreet diplomatic oversight; in fact, the Muslim and Hindu rulers and the Mughal nobility was wearing itself down in a war of mutual destruction which made the task of empire-building so much easier for the British. In spite of the so many privileges and concessions granted to them, the English merchants continued to bring shiploads of guns and ammunition and stockpiling in secret magazines. The conditions of anarchy prevailing at that time had already spurred thcir ambitions. Political conditions prevailing at that time have been described by Col. Mill, in his report to the European ruler thus :-

(8) "The Mughal empire is overflowing with gold and silver. She has always been feeble and defence-less. It is a miracle that no European prince with

maritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counter-balance the mines of Brazil and Peru ... The policy of Mughals is bad, their army worse, they are without a Navy. The empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their ports and rivers are open to ,foreigners. The country might be conquered or laid under consternation as easily as the Spaniards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America. A rebel subject, named Alivardi Khan, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from the Mughal empire. He has treasure to the value of 30 million sterling. His yearly revenue must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to sea. Three ships from 1500 to 2000 regulars would suffice for the undertaking. The British nation would co-operate for the sake of the plunder and the promotion of their trade. The East India Com-pany is so distracted as to be incapable of any firm resolution."

This scheme was suggested by the British. Colonel at an appropriate moment when the Mughal empire was crum-bling. The Mughal Subedars of Bengal, the Deccan and the Oudh assumed independence in 1703, 1713 and 1724 respec-tively and founded dynasties. In the South, the time was propitious for grabbing territory for a war of accession had started in the Carnatic with the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748. The Asafjahi kingdom of Hyderabad extended from Vindhyachal. to Madura in the far-south. By that time, the French, under Dupleix, who had extended French influene on the Coramandal coast (Carnatic), were in the favours of Nasir Jung who succeeded his father, Nizam ul Mulk had become as powerful as the English East India Company and the war of succession had provided the French and the English companies with an opportunity to contest for politi-cal 'power. The Anglo-French struggle in -India took- the shape of three Carnatic wars: First —1744-45, Second-1751

and the third—in 1758. The first Anglo-French war (1750-1754) and the third Anglo-French war (1758-1763) had far reaching consequencies on the Indian Soil. Trouble in India began in 1754 when a British Naval unit appeared near Pondichery,— a French settlement. The French governor, Dupleix, prevailed upon Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Carnatic, to forbid hostilities in his jurisdiction. Consequently, the British fleet withdrew leaving Pondichcry without harm. But soon after, Dupleix, with the Nawab's sanction attacked and captured Madras. The conflict between the French and the English continued until the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748. By this treaty, France restored Madras to the British in exchange for Louisbourgh in North America. Dupleix resented this because French had an edge over the British in India.

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY FOR SUPREMACY IN CARNATIC Soon after the accession of Nasir, Jung as the Nizam of Hyderabad, there was trouble brewing in Carnatic. Dost Ali Khan, the governor of Carnatic, though appointed to the post by the emperor, was a subordinate of the. Subcdar of Deccan, Nizam ul Mulk Asifjah. On the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 Dost Ali Khan was busy expanding his territory in preparation for making a bid for independence. Trichinopoly and Madura fell to him but Tanjore resisted as Mahrattas from the north moved down for their relief. In the ensuring battle Dost Ali was killed. Trichinopoly and Madura were retaken and Chanda Sahib, (the son-in-law of the deceased ex-governor Dost Ali Khan) was taken prisoner. Muzaffar Jung, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, con-tested the succession of Nasir Jung and, at the same time, Chanda Sahib was claiming the province of Carnatic. Dupleix supported the claim of Muzaffar Jung in Hyderabad and Chanda Sahib in Carnatic. Deccan govern-ment was forced to take strong action. Anwaruddin Shahamat Jung, who governed the Carnatic province on be-

half of thc Nizam, was the first to take the field but he was outnumbered and killed by the combined army of Muzaffar Jung, Duplcix and Chanda Sahib, who was released by the Mahrattas. His son Mohammad Ali escaped and fled to Trichinopoly where he sought the protection of the English. This created an alarming situation. Nasir Jung rushed and advanced with an overwhelming army aided by his feudatories of Kadappa, Karnul, Adhoni, Bankapur, Mysore and Berar. The rebels were routed at Arcot. Chanda Sahib fled to Pondichcri and Muzaffar jung was taken prisoner. The resistance put by Dupleix at Pon-dichery also cracked and the French leader sought peace which was refused and Dupleix fled to Jinji with his broken army. Mark! The myth of the superiority of European army was exploded, but treachery denied the fruits of victory; Himmat Khan, an Afghan,—the Nawab of Karnul, hatched a conspiracy with Dupleix. While. Nasir Jung was waving his hands to the Hyderabad army storming a fortress, Nawab of Karnul (Himmat Khan) shot him dead (1750). The death of Nasir Jung was the triumph of Duplcix and the conspirators; it was a decisive crippling blow to the kingdom of Hyderabad which had been a bulwark against the rising Mahrattas power in the South. Now it was Dupleix who was to decide the fate of the. Muslim political power in Deccan. The kingdom was divided among the conspirators. Dupleix captured all the important forts and ports on the Coroman-dal coast,. Chanda Sahib got Arcot, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tirinavilli, Jinji and Chandawar and the Afghans were given Adoni, Raichur and Bijapur. The next step was the appoint-ment of Ramdas as Diwan. A French contingent was to. escort Muzaffar Jung, now declared the Nizam of Hyderabad, to Aurangabad. But dissatisfaction of the Af-ghans of Karnul in ragard to their share led to another skirmish. The award had fallen short of their expectations and they raided the Asiljahi camp when the procession reached the vicinity of Karnul. In the skirmish Muzaffar Jung was killed by an arrow. This was the second tragedy that had occurred within two months and upset once again the political situation. The issue of accession came up again.

Raja Ramdas and other Hyderabad nobles were in favour of Nizam Ali Khan, the fourth son.of Nizam-ul-Mulk as he was more competent than his other brothers but they were prevailed upon by the French General Bussy to support Salabat Jung, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk by virtue of his seniority. But, save his seniority in age there was nothing else in his favour and, consequently, the young state was left in the hands of an imbecile monarch who was devoid of any capacity to rule. The French General Bussey gained domineering position in the affairs of Hyderabad and was honoured with high-sounding titles of Saif-ud-Daula Ghazan-far Jung. He manipulated to taking over Northern Circars for the maintenance of the French army. The English were alarmed--over the domineering position and influence gained by the French over the Nizam. They appealed to the Im-perial. Court at Delhi. After careful consideration, the Mughal emperor (Ahmed Shah 1748 - 1754) deputed Feroze Jung, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk to replace Salabat Jung and do away with. the. French influence. The emperor's action was well received by the nobility of Hyderabad but before arrival in Hyderabad, Feroze Jung was poisoned in Aurangabad. Nizam All Khan and Salabat Jung were in a state of political detention in Hyderabad. The nobility were treated harshly by the French soldiers. The prime ministers were meted out disgraceful treatment by the French soldiers and removed from office. The state failed to put up ade-quate resistence against the Mahrattas who captured the strategic fort of Asirgarh and lost the territories of Asirgarh, Burhanpur, Daulatabad and a part of Bidar to the Mahrattas in the battle of Udgir, fought in 1760. Salabat Jung reigned for 12 years. He was deposed in 1762 and succeded by Nizam All Khan who brought fresh vigour to the Hyderabad government. He was an energetic and conscientious ruler. The first step he took to assert his authority was the ouster of Hydcr Jung, the Diwan, who had been the main source of the authority of Bussey. Bussey himself was recalled to Pondicherry by the new French governor. Duplcix

had already, been recalled by French government in 1754 and a new governor appointed in his

place. The English captured Vizagapatam (Northern Circars) and Muslipatam in 1758 and made friends with the Nizam. That was the end of the French influence in Deccan. When Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India for the fifth time in 1759 he found himself confronted not by the Mughals but by the resurgent Hindu power of the Mahrattas. The moves and counter-moves over the next 18 months culminated in the 3rd Battle of Panipat on 14th January 1761. Ahmed Shah Abdali won a resounding victory. The Mahrattas were con-founded and scattered,, the surviving' Mughal chiefs divided and ineffective, the English East India Company still in the distant Bengal, it appeared that the entire Hindustan lay at his feet. But Ahmed Shah Abdali lacked the tenacity of Babur and his Mughal army; Abdali's men clamoured for arrears of pay and wanted to return to their hills. Abdali found it expedient to leave Shah Alain on his throne and appointed Najib-ud-Daula as his prime minister. This state of affairs in the north proved advantageous to Nizam Ali Khan (Nizam of Hyderabad) which he was quick to avail. Balaji, the third Peshawa, died of heart failure over the rout of Mahrattas and was succeeded by his minor son, Madho Rao with his uncle Raghuba as the Regent. There was bickering and factional fight. Nizam Ali Khan lent his support to Raghuba but Raghuba failed to honour his com-mittment to return Daulatabad to the Nizam. Nizam Ali Khan promtply led an army against him, advanced as far as Poona. He crushed the Mahrattas and sacked the city of Poona.. All the territory seized by the Mahrattas earlier was recovered. In the meantime, the British gained ascendency with their success in Arcot in 1751, followed by their success in Bengal at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, and finally, against the emperor Shah Alam at the Battle of Buxar in 1764. Under the Treaty of Allahabad, imposed on the vanquished emperor in 1765, the Company obtained the grant of the Diwani of Northern Circars in Deccan as well along with an upper hand in the Carnatic in the South. This was in addi-tion to the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The status

of the Mughal emperor had now been reduced to a pen-sioner of the East India Company. The English general entered the Circars and occupied Vizagapatam District but Nizam All Khan refused to accept the emperor's firman and decided to expel the British. The Company found it prudent to seek an amicable settlement instead of fighting. They offered an annual payment of rupees nine lacs for the five districts and the promise of military assistance in case of emergency for the defence of these districts. Accordingly, a treaty was signed on 12th November 1766., The _ cession of Carnatic was also accepted on the payment of a `Nazrana' of rupees five lacs. This was the first treaty signed by the Hyderabad government with the English and placed their relations on the basis of equality on a legal footing. -The earlier Treaty concluded by Salabat Jung in 1758 lost its validity and this time, they had to deal with an equally strong power. Yet, another development was taking place at that moment.

THE RISE OF HYDER ALI —MYSORE KINGDOM

The rise of Hyder Ali in Mysore began posing a for-midable challenge to the East India Company. By 1761 Hyder Ali had established himself firmly and his power was rising. He has recovered from the temporary reverses at the hands of Mahrattas in 1763 and by 1769, defeated the triple alliance of the Nizam, Mahrattas and the English. The British were given a good thrashing and a humiliating peace was imposed by Hyder Ali on the English. Again in 1780 he swept through Arcot. In the later years, the British had to face a more formidable challenger, the valiant son of Hydcr Ali, Tipu Sultan. The exploits of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan are dealt in greater detail in a separate chapter. To complete the picture of the emerging power pattern in the South it is necessary to review the events once again culminating in the British action to frustrate the French ambitions and power resulting in the dramatic emergence of

British as a military power set on a course of conquest. Wars of succession and internecine warfare in the political condi-tions of India, at that time, had created widespread anarchy and insecurity, thereby prompting the French and the English trading companies to raise armies on the Indian soil. For the English and French trading companies it was as much a case of national rivalry and upholding of national honour. Both European powers pursued subtle diplomacy to win political favours and trading rights from the Indian rulers. For the Indian princes all that mattered was the throne and all their actions were shamelessly tempered with ambition and intrigue and there was no such bar as patriotism and national honour, — thc emotional factors that could restrain and bar them from invoking help of the foreigner. It was thus that the French and the English trad-ing companies advanced from the state of clients, seeking commercial favours to the position of king-makers and ar-biters of the destiny of the Indian people. Even the Mah-rattas were no exception to this perverse expediency and they sought the help of the British in their wars of succes-sion and their wars with the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms of Hyderabad and Mysore. Both the European powers,—French and the English, activity intervened in the power struggle of the Indians in Deccan and the South. It all began with the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah - 1 in 1748. A war of succession followed. Nasir Jung succeeded but was challenged by Muzaffar Jung, a grandson of the late Nizam. In the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib who had been released by the Mahrattas, put forward his claim to the office of his father-in-law, the Nawab of Carnatic. Carnatic was a part of the Asafjahi kingdom of Hyderabad founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah-I. Duplcix, the French governor of Pondicher-ry, made a secret alliance with Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib. The combined forces defeated and slew Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic, in the battle of Amber in 1749. The Nawab's son, Muhammad Ali, fled to Trichinopoly and Carnatic fell into the hands of Chanda Sahib. Muzaffar Jung was now confronted with the full forces of Nasir Jung who spent most of the year of 1750 in the Carnatic. Dupleix

eliminated Nasir Jung through a conspirary and secured recognition of Muzaffar Jung as Nizam of Hyderabad.. Muzaffar was shortly killed and in his place Salabat Jung was raised and maintained in power by the French, making them the supreme power in Deccan. In the meantime, Chanda Sahib had besieged his rival Mohammad Ali at Trichinopoly whose position was getting hopeless with the arrival of the French before Trichinopoly in September 1751. The fall of Mohammad Ali could spell total disaster to the British in the South. Now, a critical situation had developed in the struggle for power between the and the English in India although France and England were at peace in Europe. Robert Clive, a writer in the British •East India Company at that time, concieved of a plan for the relief of Trichinopo-ly. Instead of attempting- to :relieve Muhammad Ali, he oc-cupied - the capital city of Arcot which was undefended. Chanda Sahib-was alarmed the fall of his capital city and rushed a large army. his son Raza Sahib to relieve it. Robert Clive maintained a gallant defence of the besieged city for.51 days;after which he was reinforced by troops from Madras:•-"Trichinopoly.-was captured and Chanda Sahib was forced to .stirrender to the Raja of Tanjore. and later, mur-dered at. the`: instigation of Mohammad Ali. Thus Dupleix's dream of establishing French power was shattered and the British influence was established with Mohammad Ali be-coming-the undisputed ruler of Carnatic. Both France and England disapproved of the war in India and under the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle of 1748, it was agreed that the French were to restore the captured territories to the British and abstain from attempting to overthrow Mohammad Ali. Bussy, the French general, was to remain at Hyderabad and the British were to recognize Salabat Jung. Thus, the French remained supreme in Deccan and the British in Carnatic. But soon after this treaty, the Seven Years War broke out in Europe between France and England in 1756. However, no hostilities took place in India until 1758 April fortunately for the British. The French government sent Count de Lally with a large force to India in 1758. But, in the meanwhile, with their victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British

were now far too formidable for the French. Count de Lally recalled Bussy from Hyderabad and Moracin from Circars in his attempt to strike at Madras. Clive took advantage of this situation and defeated Bussy's successor Condore at Hyderabad,. Salabat Jung changed his allegiance from French to the British and ceded Northern Circars to the. British the loss of which was a fatal blow to the French power. The war in the Carnatic dragged on until the defeat of Count de Lally in 1760. By 1761, not a single place remained to the French in India. The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. France regained Pondicherry and other settle-ments on condition that they were not' to fortify these set-tlements. The French trade was totally ruined.' The French trading company ran into terrible losses. They, however, made stray attempts but without success. And, finally, with the defeat of Napoleon, at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, the French hopes in India were completely shattered leaving the British the dominant power in Deccan, Carnatic and Bengal.

BENGAL Political instability had set in Bengal after the death of Alivardi Khan in 1756 in which the British participated fully gaining a firm foothold in Bengal. Siraj-ud-Daula, a grandson by his daughter, who was declared successor in his lifetime by Alivardi Khan, succeeded to the Subedari of Bengal but he was challenged by his cousin Shaukat Jung. Siraj-ud-Daula was fully aware and conscious of the involvement of the European powers in the South, and particularly, the role of the British. The British espoused the cause of Shaukat Jung, thinking that Siraj-ud-Daula would soon be ousted. They started abusing the privileges with impunity and by sheltering fugitives from justice. Furthermore, they started fortifications without permission of the Nawab, violating the laws of the country. Siraj-ud-Daula sent emissaries to remonstrate but the British treated them with contempt. Infuriated, Siraj-ud-Daula seized the British factory at

Kasimbazar, marched on Calcutta and captured it in June 1756. When the news of the capture of Calcutta reached Madras, a fleet under Admiral Watson, carrying troops under the command of Robert Clive was sent. After some indecisive engagements the British recovered Calcutta in Feb 1757. A treaty was signed between the Nawab and the British, by which the Company regained its privileges, trade rights and factories with the additional right to fortify Cal-cutta and to coin rupees. Just at that time, the Seven Years War broke out in Europe between the English and the French which had its repurcussions in the Carnatic as well. Clive captured Chandranagar from the French with the approval of the Nawab. This act of Siraj ud Daula deprived him of the sympathy and support of the-French. The British should have been grateful for this unexpected support but they indulged in intrigue and conspiracy by secretly negotiating with Mir Jafar, who was the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief and one who was secretly aspiring to the throne of Bengal. A plot was hatched: "It was agreed that Clive should pick up a quarrel with the Nawab and Mir Jarar, at a critical time of the battle desert the Nawab and join Clive. Siraj-ud-Daula was to be deposed ai d Mir Lam raised to the throne. Mir Jafar. also agreed to pay the English rupees 175 lakhs in addition-to compensation for their losses. By a secret agree-ment he guaranteed large monetary rewards to the Army, Navy -and the members of the Council." Accordingly, Clive accused the Nawab of aiding the French and marched. The two armies met at Plasscy on 23 June-1757. During the battle, Mir Jafar misguided the Nawab and as soon as his army ran into the trap, he deserted the Nawab with his forces and joined Clive as arranged, at a critical hour. The battle opened at 8 a.m. and continued until mid-day. By 3 p.m. the Nawab's army was retreating. By 5 p.m. the British won the victory which scaled the fate of not only Siraj-ud-Daula but also the fate of Bengal. Siraj-ud-Daula fled to Murshidabad where he.was betrayed and delivered into the hands of Mir Jaffar, and executed.

If one can call it a victory, it was decisive. The only real resistencc came from the Frenchmen who had joined Nawab's Army. Mir Jaffar was recognized by the British as the Nawab of Bengal. The Battle of Plassey marks a turning point in the history of India. Though Mir Jaffar was the nominal head, it was Robert Clive who was the real power. Battle of Plassey was not a battle in the real sense. Clive had left Calcutta on 22nd June with 800 British soldiers and 2200 Indian sepoys to face' the Nawab's disaf-fected and disarrayed army of 50,000. In spite of his previous South Indian experience Clive himself was doubtful of the issue and showed on the eve of the battle almost the only sign of irresolution in his life. The battle was a little more than a cannonade and was settled first by Kilpatrick's -un-authorised advance and then by Siraj-ud-Daula's headlong flight. Mir Jaffar looked on from a distance, appearing cautiously the next day to reap the fruits of his circumspect treachery. On 28th installed him on the `Masnad' at Mur-shidabad. This marks the end of the Muslim rule in Bengal and the beginning of a tragic era of woe and suffering for the Muslims of Bengal. The Muslims of Bengal had been enslaved. Now they had to serve two masters,— Hindu and British and, for the next two hundred years the Muslims of Bengal to suffer all the ignominy of social, economic and political bondage. June 1757, marks as well the resurgence of militant and aggressive Hindu nationalism. Just exactly as the tragedy and treachery was brewing in Bengal, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India and captured Delhi in January 1757.

AHMED SHAH ABDALI — THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE.

The British power in 1757 - 65, was largely confined to Madras, Bombay and Bengal presidencies and the East India Company was kept busy by the Mahrattas and the kingdom of Mysore under nyder Ali and Tippu Sultan until the close of the 18th century. The Mughal Empire

was declining fast and falling apart in the North. The decline of the Persian empire had created a political imbalance in Central Asia and the Anglo - Russian rivalry started moving towards the Indian frontiers. The decline of the Persian empire with the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747 had far reaching repurcussions on the course of events in India. Nadir Shah, a Seljuk Turk, was a great soldier. His invasion of India in 1739 had dealt a crushing blow to the tottering Mughal empire and hastened its downfall but his own assassination in 1747 disastrously weakened the western ramparts of the Mughal empire. Nadir Shah was a brilliant soldier. He conducted successful campaigns against Bokhara and Khiva (now in the Russian empire) recovered the lost provinces of Persia from the Turks and his empire extended from Oxus in the north to the Indus in the south. He consolidated the Persian power in the Gulf. Nadir Shah was the first king in the East to perceive the technological revolution changing the face of Europe. He raised a Navy, initially, of 20 war ships, mounting 23-pounder guns, surveyed the east coast of Caspian sea, built fortifications and also built a dockyard. His naval fleet of twenty vessels manned by Indian and Portuguese made the power of Persia a reality and the Russian government viewed this with fear and suspicion. He ob-tained the services of an Englishman to conduct survey for laying of a telegraphic line long before the Turks thought of it. As a soldier, Sir Mortimer Durrand, compared him with Nepoleon as a soldier and strategist. Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747. Ahmed Shah Ab-dali who commanded the Afghan and Uzi:leg contingents of Nadir Shah's army broke away and founded the first Afghan national state and was duly elected king of Af-ghanistan. Taking advantage of the declining power of the Mughal empire he seized Kabul in 1748 and in the same year, invaded India and secured the province of Sind. Thereafter, he continued incursions. In 1751 he captured Lahore. The Mughal emperor made peace and ceded to him the province of Punjab and Multan. By 1756 the condition of Mughal empire deteriorated. Ahmed Shah

Abdali again invaded and this time, he sacked Delhi. On the 12th January 1757 Khutba was read in the name of Ahmed Shah Abdali in the Jama Masjid of Delhi. He appointed the Rohilla Afghan Chief, Najib-ud-Daula, as the guardian of the Mughal emperor Shah Alam and left Delhi. Thus, the Mughal emperor Shah Alam became the vassal of his own courtier. Intrigues and conspiracies between the warring fac-tions of the mughal nobility continued unchecked and un-abated. So much so, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk, became all-powerful. After deposing and blinding the emperor, he called the Mahrattas for assistance in his war against Safdar Jung. Thus, the Mahrattas became the principal power and now the king-maker had become a puppet in the hands of Mahrattas in his turn. The Mahrattas, under the command of Raghunath Rao, recovered Lahore in 1758. The Mahrattas were now intoxicated with power as the emperor and the capital Delhi were under their control. They had become ambitious and were dreaming of flying over the walls of Attock.

THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT (14 Jan 1761)

Ahmed Shah Abdali decided to strike. In 1759-60 he drove the Mahrattas to flight driving them into Rajasthan inflicting great losses. The Mahrattas honour and imperialism was now at stake. The Poona court collected the finest armaments and despatched a great army to challenge Ahmed Shah Abdali under the command of Sadasiv Rao, uncle of the Peshwa. The two armies confronted each other on the battlefield of Panipat on 14 Jan 1761. Ahmed Shah Abdali inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas. It was a decisive battle and the Mahrattas were completely smashed. The Pcshwa's eldest son and all the leading Mahratta chiefs were killed. It was a total annhilation of the Mahrattas army. The Mahrattas dream of establishing Mahrattas Hindu em-pire came to a naught. **The British East India Company were in the distant south and Bengal; they must have

*• D.P. Singhal observes that the British played a subtle and elusive game but refrained from antagonising Mahratta power. Though the Afghans won the battle the real heneficieries were the British.

cleverly kept aloof with great satisfaction so as to allow the Mahrattas to be beaten thoroughly to be ultimately eliminated to pave the way for their unchallenged domina-tion in India. Even otherwise, it is doubtful if the British could have fared any better than the Mahrattas as Ahmed Shah Abdali's legion fought under the command of Nadir Shah who inflicted severe defeats on the Russians and the British were no match against the massive disciplined army of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Now, the only other power left in the field to challenge the supremacy of the British were the valiant rulers of the kingdom of Mysore,— Hyder All and Tippu Sultan successively from 1769 to 1799.

HYDER ALI KHAN (1761 - 1782)

TIPPU SULTAN (1783 - 1799)

"Mysore was the cradle of one the most daring and successful adventurers in the annals of the East, and perhaps the most formidable adversary whom the British ever en-countered in the region" says Bowing. The daring adven-turers were Hyder Ali and his son, Tippu Sultan of Mysore, founded over the ashes of the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar destroyed after the Battle of Talikota in 1565 and which owed allegiance to the Mughal empire since 1699. The Khutba was continued to be read in the name of the Mughal emperor right upto 1799— till the fall of Scringapatam. During the contest between the rival claimants to. the Nawab-ship of Carcantic in 1749 the Hindu Raja of Mysore supported Mohammad Ali in a tripartite alliance with the Mahrattas and the British. In recongition of his serivecs, Hyder Ali was ap-pointed as the Faujdar of Dindigal and later, became the Commander-in-Chief. In a sequence of events following the imbecility of the Raja, Hyder Ali captured power in 1761. What distinguished Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan and placed them in the forefront of national heroes of their times, is their dash, daring and foresight. In independent India, in the post partition histories written, Tippu Sultan is accorded the proud status of a national hero whereas the Mahrattas state under Sivaji and the Peshwas is termed a 'Bandit State'. Tippu Sultan

was the first modernist Indian ruler who imbibed the politi-cal ideal of the French Revolution. During the course of his military operations in 1749, Hyder Ali seized several guns belonging to an English convoy which had been cut off from the main army. He took advantage of the confusion to seize a large amount of the Nizam's treasure. He paid a visit to Pondicherry and closely observed the French military organisation. He obtained the services of the officers of French artillery and established an arsenal. After the battle of Panipat in 1761 in which the Mahrattas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali he was quick to perceive that the British were his only enemies. Though an illiterate, he knew what was going around in the world. The Seven Years War between France and England had started in 1756 and was still raging in Europe. Hyder Ali was known to be in close relations with the French. He adopted a plan of perpetual harassment, stormed Carnatic and forced the Madras government into a treaty on his terms in 1769. The Treaty of Madras provided for the mutual restitution of con-quests and reciprocal assistance in a defensive war"... In 1771 the Mahrattas attacked Mysore defeating Hyder Ali completely. Hyder Ali, in accordance with the Treaty of Madras appealed to the British for help but they refused to honour the treaty and come to his aid. There was war again in Europe betwen France and England in 1778. Taking advantage of the situation, Hyder Ali formed an alliance with the Nizam and the Mah-rattas and, in 1780 stormed into Carnatic and defeated the British Commander Baillic. Hyder Ali died in 1782 but his son, Tippu Sultan continued the war against the British.

TIPPU SULTAN (1783 - 1799)

Peace was concluded between France and England. British concluded the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784 with Tippu by which the conquered teritories and prisoners of war were mutually restored. The success of Hyder All has amply exploded the theory of the invincibility of the British. Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan sought to banish the British from India. Tippu Sultan sought the help of the

French and sent an ambassador to Constantinople and Paris in 1787. He attacked Travancore in 1789, a state in alliance with the Company. Thus started the 3rd Anglo-Mysore war which lasted for two years. The Nizam and the Mahrattas who were apprehensive and jealous of Tippu's power, allied themselves with the British. The early British campaign having been unsuccessful Cornwalis himself took command, capturing Manglore in 1791 but his advance to Seringapatam failed. He was forced to retreat hastily due to the scorched earth policy which caused famine in the British camp. But the Mahrattas came to the British aid and saved the situa-tion. A year later, Cornwalis marched again on Tippu's capital, and this time, he was more successful. Unable to resist the combined forces of the British, Mahrattas and the Nizam, Tippu signed the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 by which he agreed to cede half his territory and pay a large indemnity. The British company got Coorg, Dindigal, Malabar and Baramahal; the Mahrattas gained territory west upto Tungabhadra and the Nizam on the north-east upto Cudapah." Ever since the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 Tippu Sultan had initiated diplomatic negotiations for an offensive and defensive alliance with the French who welcomed his approach. Some French volunteers had even joined Tippu's service and Nepolcon was endeavouring to reach India by way of Egypt and Persia. Tippu despatched a mission to Mauritius to propose an alliance with the French Republic `for the expulsion of the English from India'. He negotiated not only with the French but also with the Afghan people, he planted a 'Tree of Liberty' in his capital. The Treaty of Seringapatam imposed very harsh condi-tions (1792) but Tippu discharged his obligations faithfully. But, at the same, time, he did not lose heart. He strengthened the defences of the capital, rearmed his in-fantry and horsemen, raised fresh forces and helped the cultivators to make up the losses they had suffered in the war making them happier and prosperous again. Tippu was convinced that if he remained complaisant he will have to share the same fate which had overtaken Sirajud Daula. He

was desparately looking for allies but considered ,the Indian and Muslim chiefs as unreliable. War was raging in Europe. A French expedition had sailed to the Isthmus of Suez and Nepoleon had instructions "to drive the English from all their possessions in the East which he can reach". On 2nd April 1797, Tippu Sultan sent his ambassador to Mauritius who was received in state by the governor. Tippu had ap-pealed to them to furnish him both European and Negro troops to fight his enemies. About a hundred French sub-jects volunteered. A new Governor General—Lord Wellesley had taken charge in 1798. On 22 February 1798, the Governor General, Lord Wel-lesley issued a declaration of war. British army, Nizam and the Peshwa marched on Seringapatam. On May 2, the enemy's batteries breached the fortifications. There was treachery afoot. Tippu hastened towards the breach but it was too late. He fought desparately, sword in hand and fell. In Indian history Tippu is a controversial and fascinating figure. He was the first and, perhaps, the only Indian ruler to think of combating European domination with the help of European alliance. He possessed a valuable library and was well versed in Persian, Urdu and Kannada. There was much in his career, and character which, despite the vehemence of his anti-British sentiments, invite respect and even admiration. The thirty years struggle ,f Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan against the rising tide of British expansion could have served as a model and a source of inspiration and above all, a rallying point for the patriots in the north. Tippu fell fighting, sword in hand on 2nd May 1799 and thus ended the career of a gallant son of India, and a formidable enemy of the British in India. Not a tear was shed in the effete Mughal court. Shah Alam II was the reigning emperor. It was in 1798 that the Afghan king, Zaman Shah ap-pointed Ranjit Singh as the governor of Punjab and a year later, in 1799, Ranjit Singh declared himself independent king of Punjab. The Mughal emperor Shah Alam iI was powerless and entirely subservient to Scindhia. The Mahrat-

tas were now a powerful force but it soon dissipated duc to internecine wars. By the year 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was completely smashed by the British and Lord Lake had earlier captured Delhi in 1803. That was the end of the Mahratta power. The Mughal emperor was finally taken into British protection and his presence was confined within the Red fort, subsisting on the pension granted by the East India Company. By the year 1818 the British power was fully established in India excepting Punjab and the NWFP where the Sikhs were the dominant power. With the defeat of Ncpolcon in the battle of Waterloo in 1815 British became a world power.

THE REVOLT OF 1857

When the Revolt broke out on 10th May 1857 at Meerut, Syed Ahmed Khan was Sadr Amin at Bijnorc since 1855 January on promotion. He was busy writing hooks. There had been outbreaks earlier, prominently, one at Barrackpore which was promptly suppressed. The British were not wor-ried but the disaffection was not subdued. At the time of the revolt the strength of the British Indian army was 46000 British troops including Royal troops and 260,000 Indian soldiers. The army comprised mostly of high caste Hindus,—Brahmins of all denominations—Kshatriyas, Rajputs and Ahirs largely drawn from the north-cast India, U.P. and Behar.

"The outbreak at Meerut was serious where 85 horsemen refused to handle the newly introduced bullets which were smeared with the animal fats of cows and pigs on the outer wrapper which was required to be bitten and torn off with teeth before loading into the magazine chamber. This was sacrilegious for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The 85 horsemen were promptly arrested, court marlialled for dis-affection, fettered like common criminals and marched off to jail. Incensed at this insult to injury, the Regiment broke out into open rebellion on 10th May 1857, shot down their British officers, released the prisoners and marched to Delhi to proclaim Bahadur Shah as the emperor. (1)"It is sig-

nificant, and indicative of the popularity of the Mughal crown that the leaderless mutineers instinctively elected to fight under the banner of an incompetent and unwilling Mughal emperor rather than the Mahrattas, who were stronger of the two and more anti-British. Once again the Mughal flag was hoisted on the Red Fort and the Revolt was fought under the Mughal banner. Orders were issued in the name of the Mughal king, coins were struck in his name, and the Hijri calendar was used in place of Samvat".

"The mutineers, joined by the Delhi sepoys, made them-selves masters of the city and the palace, massacred the Europeans and proclaimed the restoration of the Mughal empire. The capture of Delhi was a signal for a general rising in northern India and the mutiny spread to Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpore, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bundelkhand and other places. By the second week of June the whole of Audh was in arms".

In Oudh the mutineers converged round two centres,—Lucknow and Kanpore. At Lucknow, all Europeans and a small force of loyal Indian soldiers were besieged in the Residency until it was finally relieved by Campbell in Nov 1857. At Kanpore, the Revolt was directed by Nana Sahib. After a siege of 19 days, the British garrison was compelled to surrender in June. All prisoners were murdered. British recaptured Nagpur in July but was soon reoccupied by the mutinous troops until it was again recaptured in December by Campbell. At Bareilley, the capital of Rohilkhand, the sepoys revolted and proclaimed a Rohilla Chief as governor. They retained power for a period as long as a year. In central India, the rebel leaders were the Rani of Jhansi and Tatya Tope. In May 1858, the British captured Kalpi which was the principal arsenal of the rebels. In Junc 1858 the rebels captured Gwalior and compelled Scindia who had remained loyal to the Company, to take refuge at Agra and proclaim Nana Sahib as Peshwa. Most of Scindia's troops joined the rebels. They were finally defeated by British in June 1858. The Rani of Jhansi, fighting gallantly, was killed at the head of her troops.

Delhi was stormed on 14th September and recaptured on 21st September 1857. The aged emperor Bahadur Shah sur-rendered. He was 82 years old at that time. The rebel force which was 30,000 strong scattered into villages or made their way to Lucknow and other places. Nearly a quarter of the British force became casualties and General Nicholson was killed.. From that moment suppression of the revolt as a whole was only a matter of time. The largely innocent in-habitants of Delhi, to whom the advent of the rebels had been a great calamity as the Mahrattas and Afghans before them, suffered acutely in the reprisals and punitive measures which followed. The aged emperor was taken prisoner, tried in the Fort, ironically, for 'treason' and deported to Ran-goon. His two sons were savagely shot. Major Hodson presented the heads of the princes on a plate to the aged emperor. Most despicable and heinous atrocities were com-mitted by the British when they gained the upper hand. Edward Thompson's book, "The Other Side of the Medal" and William Russel's Diary gives a clear picture of these acts. When the British had the upper hand, burning and hanging expeditions became a matter of routine and no distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty. Within a few days of its fall, Delhi was deserted by its inhabitants. Large numbers had perished at the hands of infuriated soldiers; those who left the city in fear died of exposure and starvation. Enormous treasures were looted and every soldier became rich. All houses, shops and stores were ransacked and looted, their inmates killed, whether they were rebels or not. Women were raped and children butchered. The 'Times' (London) noted : No such scene has been witnessed in the city of Shah Jahan since the day that Nadir Shah .... In Lucknow and Jhansi, the story was the same; massacres of the villagers and sepoys and no questions asked. A piece of rope, the branch of a tree and a rifle bullet were all that were needed. Everywhere, according to the abundant evidence furnished by the British themselves, British officers indiscriminately killed guilty and innocent alike. Not only were the people massacred, tortured, burnt alive, but they were made to do things which they believed

would damn their souls. Hindus were made to cat cow's flesh, and Muslims were sewn in pig, skins, smeared with pork fat before execution and their bodies burnt.

SYED AHMEH VISITS HIS MOTHER AT

DELHI IN SEPTEMBER 5 1857

(12) "... by April 1858 when Syed Ahmed returned to Bijnore to resume his duties as Sadr Amin, accompanying the British forces during the last phase of their offensive. But before he returned to Bijnore, he visited Delhi in September 1857, on hearing of the re-occupation of that city by the British. Of this visit he gives a brief account in his biography of Khwaja Farid-ud-Din. While at Meerut, he had heard that in the course of reprisals by the British troops his maternal uncle, Wahidud Din, and his uncle's son Hashim Ali Khan had been killed and that all his remaining relations had evacuated to the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin outside Delhi, exept for his mother and sister, who was blind. When he arrived in Delhi he found that they had been turned out of their house and had taken shelter with an old maid servant, Zeban, in her cottage. For three days they had no food to eat and for two days no water to drink either. His mother's first thought on seeing him was about his personal safety. She entreated him to go away at once and leave her to her fate. He, however, assured her that he had come with proper authority and had even been to sec the governor at the Fort. On learning that they had been without water for two days he went out to the nearest well. But there was nothing there with which to draw water. So he went to the fort and brought a jar full of water from there. On reaching Zeban's cottage he found her sitting on the ground outside with an earthenware jar and an earthenware cup lying near her. Shc had apparently come out in search of water but, too weak to walk, had sat down on the ground. He filled her cup, but instead of drinking the water she poured it into her jar... Syed Ahmed assured her that he had enough water in the jar to drink as well as she can, and filled her cup again. She drained the cup at one draft

and lay down on the ground. Leaving her there. Sycd Ahmed ran into the cottage and gave his mother and aunt a drink of water. Then he rushed out to look for a carriage by which to take the old ladies to Meerut. The first sight he met was Zeban lying dead. As for a carriage, there was none to be had in the whole city. The Fort authorities were, however, kind enough to lend him a small mail-coach by which the three of them travelled to Meerut. His mother was back with him to Meerut, but the shock and anxiety of mind that she had suffered were too much for her and she died a month afterwards. Sycd Ahmcd's uncle and cousin whose house adjoined his at Delhi, were slain unarmed by the infuriated Sikhs three days after the assault. They were as loyal as Sycd Ahmed himself; but at that dreadful time many innocent men, I grieve to say, suffered for the sins of the guilty."

RAVAGE OF DELHI BY SIKIIS

(13) "Syed Ahmed's personal loss was heavy, but when he saw what the Muslim community had suffered, his grief was inconsolable. In the indiscriminate massacre, arson and loot, which followed the British occupation of the city, Delhi, which Sycd Ahmed had known so well and loved so tenderly, simply ceased to exist. The British quarrel was really with the mutineers and their comrades in arms, but partly to strike terror in the minds of Indians in general, and partly out of anger at the massacre of European women and children at the hands of the mutineers the authorities un-leashed the dogs of war on the vast civil population of the city. Besides, in order to enlist the support of the Sikh soldiery the Punjab officials had, by narrating legendary tales, stirred their religious zeal to the white heat of fanaticism and, in this hypnotised state of mind, the Sikh soldiery committed atrocities which were more revolting than those even committed by the angry British soldiers. What Delhi suffered in these conditions is hard to describe but easy to imagine. Not a house was safe; not a human being was secure. For several days after the British occupation of Delhi, civilians were shot at sight and, when this was over,

trials under Martial Law started and any wretch, who had a grievance against,. another or who wanted to win favour of the victors would,comt. forward with accusation of complicity against the best- and the noblest,: and was really believed. All the celebrities of Delhi, whoth Syed Ahmed in his `Asarus Sanadid' had described were dead or were hiding to save their lives. The vast quarter of the city between the Fort and the grand mosque, which house -the, Mughal aristocracy, was completely razed to the ground and ploughed up. The grand mosque of Shah Jahan was taken over by the army and the Anglo-Indian press.was freely debating whether it should be destroyed or converted into -a church". (14)It must however be stated, in order to vindicate the honour of the mutineers that there is no truth in the tales of dishonour of British women spread by the Anglo-Indian press. (15)To substantiate this view. Mr. C.F. Andrevvs,,an eye witness of the tragedy as narrated in his biography of `Zaka ullah of Delhi' may be quoted. "It is often stated that this hour of madness among the European soldiers was due to the stories of the outraged honour of the English women, who had been killed during the mutiny. As this charge against the mutineers has been very often repeated, and has formed the subject of sensational novels written especially by authors who have dealt with the mutiny in fiction, it is well to give at this point direct evidence taken immediately on the spot. Mr. W. Muir, who was at the head of the Intelligence Department in the affected districts, and, perhaps, the most well in-formed of those special civilian authorities, who had to deal with the Mutiny affairs, writes on December 30th 1857 as follows" :-

"My comrades with the Intelligence -Department, at the Head-quarters.of the Government at Agra have brought me during the past six months into contact with messengers and spies from all parts of the country. I gladly add my testimony, that nothing has come to my knowledge, which would in the smallest degree support any of the tales of dishonour current in our public prints. Direct evidence, however

procurable, has been steadily and consistently against them ... The people,=thoge must have been, had there been -any case of outraged honour, and would have told us, uniformly deny that any such things were ever perpetrated or thought of. The understanding of the people on this point, if, as I believe, we have correctly apprehended it, cannot be wrong ... judging from the great accumulation of negative evidence, supported as it is on many im-portant points and direct and positive proofs, it may be safely asserted that there arc fair grounds for believing that violation before murder was never committed".

"That English women and children were killed by the mutineers has never been questioned but it is a relief to be able to remove this baseless rumour about violation entirely from the mind. Not only Mr. W. Muir's personal evidence (afterwards Sir William Muir) taken but also a special Com-mission of enquiry was held on the spot. They sat at Agra directly after the capture of the city of Delhi, and made the report before the end of the year 1857. It came to the same conclusion as W. Muir that no such acts of dishonour had been committed. Yet, it is a deplorable fact that positive rumours of this kind were widely circulated; and the delirium from which the European troops suffered was partly due to these false reports. This cannot, however, in any way excuse what happened at Delhi, which left a stain on British Military history. Those who wish to pursue the matter fur-ther should study E..I. Thompsons's hook, entitled 'The Other Side of the Medal' Mr. C.F. Andrews cites an official .. despatch of C.E. Saunders, the Commissioner at Delhi, to W. Muir at Agra. He writes as follows :-"Only those on the. spot know the difficulties with which our commanders had to deal (i.e. after the assault). The whole army was utterly disorganised and within three or four days of the assault, discipline was almost at an end. For several days, a majority of our European troops might almost be said to he suffering from a delirium. The native troops

were almost as, if not equally, disorganised from similar causes and from the plunder which' fell into their hands".... "General Wilson ordered that no protection tickets should be valid unless they were countersigned by himself. The consequences was that few,obtainal anything like protection. No guards could be furnished, and before two or three days elapsed, there - Was not a ihotist That not been ransacked and plundered;-. frierids and foes alike suffering to an equal extent. The chief wealth of the citizens had been bricked up and plastered over. The Sikhs and others with the military force very soon learnt the .artifice,' and a very considerable amount of plunder had -been carried off which will not enrich the 'Prize Fund'.... The Prize Agents and the Army, generally, were rather anxious to lay it down, that the whole city of Delhi had become the property of the Army, having been taken in assault, and were anxious to dispose- of real as well as personal and moveable property. The consequence has been that all wealth of the city, which has escaped the clutches of independent plunderers, has been transferred by night-time here and the guarantee has been abused. The city has been so thoroughly ransacked and plundered, that par-ties arc not willing to pay much -for their effects still remain-ing untouched. The authorities have not gone on any very fixed principles in disposing of property, but on the contrary, the whole question has been marked by want of principles more than anything else."

IMPACT OF THE REVOLT ON THE INDIAN MUSLIMS

(15) "In the British view, it was Muslim intrigue and Muslim leadership that converted a Sepoy Mutiny into a political conspiracy aimed at the extinction of the British Raj. The British were also convinced that the Muslim com-munity, though few in numbers, were far more hostile throughout the course of the uprising. In Rohilkhand, in Agra, in Aligarh, the local authorities reported that the Muslims were "for the most part against us, while the Hin-

dus remained almost universally friendly". Rikes, at Agra, even claimed that the Muslims had behaved so badly that if the population had sympathised with them instead of an-tagonised, I should despair of governing India for the fu-ture.... A Muhammcdan was another name for rebel. " Lord Canning alone stood out against this outright condemnation of Muslims although he admitted that the Revolt, for a time, took the shape of a carricature revival of the Mughal empire he insisted that it was no more Muslim than Hindu and he refused to sanction any special measures of retribution directed against the Muslim community. But he could no more stem the tide of anti-Muslim sentiment than stop the cry of vengeance."

GOVERNMENT REACTION

TO MUSLIM PART IN THE REVOLT

(16) "Government's immediate reaction to the supposed Muslim instigation of the Mutiny was ferocious. Take for instance, the Mughal Delhi. The great mosque was confis-cated. The larger part of the Fathcpuri mosque was auc-tioned off. The Dar) Iganj mosque became a bakery and the great Mughal palace a harrack.The massive area between the mosque and the Red Fort was cleared to provide a field for British cannon. House after house was razed to make way for the canals, roads, and railways which ploughed their way into the city. In the longer term this policy was extended to the relics of Mughal administration. Oriental departments were abolished as Government was moved from Agra to Allahahad". "The court of Sadr Diwani Adalat was set aside; the functions of Hindu and Muslim Law officers came to an end, and in 1868, the centre of Government in NAT was moved from Agra, scene of great Mughal glories, to Allahahad, the Holy city of the Hindus. Moreover, Government depart-ments, particularly those involved in reforming old ways and breaking down the influence of established groups in bureaucracy, appeared to carry this animus against the Mus-

lims into their work. The numbers of Muslims in the police and Judicial departments, it was announced, were too large. The Education Department too severely criticized for the fact that they (Muslims) still hold a strong position in the bureaucracy generally. A School Inspector wrote, It is a well known fact that there is no nation on earth more opposed to education or enlightenment than the bigoted Muham-madans and yet the government seem disposed to allow them a monopoly of the best employments... Let not educated man be taunted by these Bahadurs." (The inspector was Siva Prasad—Report of the Director Public Instruction. (NWP) 1863-64) The following extract from Sir Alfred Lyall (then a young civilian officer in Agra) gives some idea of the spirit in which sonic Government officers conducted the post-mutiny changes: "They (the Muslims) deliberately planned and tried to carry out a war of extermination (Lyall told his father) in 1858 and retaliation in such a case is sanctioned by any means be exterminated, it could be the greatest possible step towards civilizing and Christianizing Hindustan". (17) "A•X every Muslim in North India was under a cloud, everywhere the Muslims were being oppressed with a heavy hand. Despondency and sullen despair had taken hold of the Muslims of North India"... This despondency at that time had been the greatest danger of all. The Muslims resented bitterly the atmosphere of suspicion in which they continually lived; and yet this very resentment added to the smouldering of the fires. They began to hate the British and the English ways. A large number of those who had before belonged to flourishing families under Mughal rule, and had been used to exercise authority were reduced to beggary and squalor. Property had been sold at ruinous rates, during time of depression; and afterwards when the tide turned and the properity of the country began to come back, their fortune at first did not revive with it. They saw those who had been their servants now becoming their masters. Destiny seemed to be against them, crushing them down. No hand was held out to help them. The younger sons of the noble Muslim families remained inactive, merely lingering idly about the

house, uneducated, untidy, sometimes even in tatters without the least desire to improve their own position, having lost altogether the very spirit of progress. The low estate into which some of them had fallen could scarcely be credited. Men and women of noble blood, nay, even of the Royal family itself, had been obliged to serve in menial occupations in order to avoid starvation. The whole of the North of India was scattered over with such families in decay. Only very slowly indeed had the spirit and courage at the heart of the Muslim faith, throughout the provinces by the mutiny, been restored. Those who were educated and enlightened, and had actually stretched out a hand to help. were looked upon in the first instance with strange suspicion and distrust. Bitter prejudice was raised.against them and the smouldering fires of religious bigotry were fanned into flame. The one remedy which those who had come forward proposed the acquisition of the new learning were denounced on all sides by the reactionaries as contrary to the religion of Islam. The cries of `Kafir',—infidel, atheist were handled about unceas-ingly and all the forces of bigotry and superstition were brought to bear against the innovators." Such is the eye-wit-ness account of the Muslim state of mind and their condition at that time as depicted by C.F. Andrews who proceeds further to observe:

(18) "But in the darkest hour a marvellous per-sonality had arisen, Sir Sycd Ahmed Khan, who would have been a commanding figure and a born leader of men in any country and at any period of history, at that critical moment came to the front of the battle and led the whole fight against bigotry and darkness. The battle had been won. Sir Sycd Ahmed at last became loved instead of being hated.The character of the new cducatioi. was vin-dicated and the attitude. of the English themselves towards the Muhammadans was strikingly modified. The imputations levelled against Musalmans as dis-contented and mutinous, became less frequently heard. In certain cases, a mutual friendliness he-

tween the English rulers of Northern India and the Muhammadan gentry arose in its place... All this had taken nearly half-a-century to accomplish—years of hard, painful incessant struggles such as the present generation could scarcely appreciate or un-derstand. It was still true".

(19) "The hatred of the Muslims among British officials especially was so intense that, according to Russell, it was warmly urged by some of them that the Jama Masjid at Delhi should be destroyed as a reminder to the 'faithful' of their humiliated position in India. The Governor General had even proposed that they should pull down the 'raj' at Agra and sell the blocks of marble. Lord Robert's attitude was typical of the British. He felt so furious with the Mus-lims that in one of his letters to his sister, Harriet, he wrote that the British should work with their life's best blood and show those rascally Musalmans that with God's help English= men will still be the masters of India. To perpetuate and strengthen English domination in India it was thought neces-sary by the British to keep the Muslims under foot; the revolt appeared to justify this" . "Thereafter, it became almost a habit with British officials to put the blame for everything that went wrong on the Muslims. They were not happy to sec them in administrative jobs and often treated them with contempt and ridicule. Towards the Hindus, on the contrary, their attitude was generous and they employed them willingly in junior ad-ministrative posts."

NOT MUTINY; NATIONAL REVOLT

"To call it a mutiny is to falsify history. A mutiny is a military revolt against the legal authority of the country. The legal ruler of India was the Mughal emperor at that time, Bahadur Shah. The East India Company was merely an agent for collection of revenue but it gradually built up military power, grabbed territory and usurped power. From the battle

of Arcot in 1751 onwards to the battle of Plassey in 1757 and battle of Buxar in 1764 imposing harsh and humiliating terms under the Treaty of Allahabad (1765) the British continued to acquire territory without challenging the authority of the emperor. The rebels had no organisation and no planning; they acted under an emotion; yet they were all conscious of the alien presence and resented it; it was anti-British in character. In this respect the rebels had the general support. There was much sympathy in northern India for the rebels. The Madras and Bombay armies remained loyal; only the Bengal army had rebelled. With the exception of the Begum of Audh and the Rani of Atansi and some minor chiefs, none of the feudatory chiefs sided with the rebels, and the Mahratta chiefs, Holkar, Scindia and Gaek-war remained loyal. Gwalior and Hyderabad remained tranquil. The fidelity of the Sikhs, Rajputs and Gorkhas prevented the spread of the revolt. Dost Muhammad, the king of Afghanistan, remained friendly. Persia concluded peace with the British in 1756. Still it was a national revolt. Mahrattas and the Mughals,—traditional enemies, fought side by side, shoulder to shoulder. The majority of the Hindus fought under the command of the Mughal king. There is enough evidence to suggest that the rebels had enough general support to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the Mughal king was the rightful representative. Disraeli, who was to emerge as one of the greatest Prime Ministers of England in 1874, correctly described the nature of the Mutiny when he said in the House of Commons on 27 July 1857 that the movement was a 'National Revolt' and not a military mutiny". Queen's sovereignty was proclaimed on November 1st 1858 in a Grand Durbar at Allahabad and Lord Canning was ap-pointed the first Viceroy. Queen Victoria became the Empress of Indian empire. The East India Company was dissolved by the Act of 1858, the powers previously weilded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Parliamentary Board of Control passed to the Crown.

THE GHASTLY TRAGEDY — SYED AHMED'S FEELINGS

In the aftermath of the revolt Muslims suffered the most, being the most suspect in the eyes of the British rulers for in spite of its Hindu origin the Muslims were thought to have instigated disaffection and disloyalty to and hatred of the new regime. Sycd Ahmed was horrified at what had happened to Delhi he loved so much. Delhi where he was born and brought up was devastated and ceased to exist. The ghastly tragedy that had overtaken the city of Delhi and the total ruin and disgrace suffered by the Muslim community as a whole which was the particular target. of the enraged rulers must have given a rude shock to Sycd Ahmed and pricked his conscience, pride and honour as a Muslim. His first feeling must have been one of horror and boundless grief over his personal losses and wounded pride as a member of the Muslim community which was still living under the illusion of being the ruling race. In his utter disgust, he thought that India was no longer a place for any self respect-ing Muslim and wanted to retire and migrate to Egypt. But soon, he rallied his courage, pondered deeply and decided to respond to the new challenge and to stand up like a man by the Muslim community in its hour of distress. He was no longer a courtier of the effete Mughal empire which had fallen; he was now a man of the people and he was quick to perceive the urgent need to salvage and retrieve the honour of the Muslim community on a National scale, the urgent need for their social and economic rehabilitation through educational uplift to emancipate them from the so-cial degradation and economic backwardness so that they may recoup and recover their legitimate rights and representation in the administrative set up appropriate to their status as a ruling race under the previous regimes; and all this, in his carefully considered view, can best be achieved only through affirmation of loyalty to the British rule and in co-operation and sincere friendship with the Hindus and not through confrontation. The first step in his programme was reconciliation with the British rulers and the second step was

to shake the Muslims out of their lethargy and encourage them to acquire English education and the new learning. It was a sound decision and the only feasible and sensible course of action under the then prevailing conditions. It would have been a criminal folly indeed if Syed Ahmed had chosen to act and rush in the fashion of the old chevalier to resuscitate the fallen fortunes of a debased, depraved and debauched dynasty and the nobility in the name of Islam in a vain Quixotic effort to dislodge the British who were already firm in their saddle and had become a world power with no one to challenge their supremacy. Syed Ahmed was forty. years old at that time and had twenty years service in the judiciary. The role he played during the mutiny was unblemished and courageous which was viewed with gratitude and satisfaction by every British officer who came into contact with him in those troublesome days. Throughout the revolt he conducted himself with cool courage, daring and dignity and averted ugly and dangerous situations. His sustained courage and tact had ensured safe evacuation of the families of British personnel. At that time he was the lone Muslim who could step in as the protector of Muslim community and salvage the honour of many a Muslim gentleman. The very cream of the Muslim elite and intellectuals had either perished or were in hiding. The immediate challenge was the prevailing conditions of fear, degradation and oppression. It was at this critical juncture that Syed Ahmed stepped forward boldly with the courage and dignity of a refined statesman. When Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of amnesty and religious non-inter-ference on 1st November 1858, Syed Ahmed was in Moradabad. Syed Ahmad organised a public meeting of Muslims and offered prayers in congregation to offer thanks-giving. Fifteen thousand Muslims joined the thanks-giving ervice. In 1860 there was a great famine followed by epideinic. On his request, the Government appointed Sycd Ahmed as administrator of Famine Relief handling over 14,000 affec-tees. He threw himself heart and soul and worked with so much dedication and patriotism that he endeared himself to

both Hindus and Muslims alike. He emerged at thc end of the famine relief work as an acknowledged social worker and a liberal nationalist and a champion of the rights of Hindus and Muslims alike

CAUSES OF INDIAN REVOLT' (ASBAB-I-BAGHAWAT-E-HIND)

To redeem the honour of the Indian people—and Muslims in particular, it was necessary to correct the erroneous no-tions associated with the mutiny and to clear the pernicious atmosphere created in the aftermath of the mutiny. He delved deep into the causes of the 'Mutiny' and wrote the historical pamphlet even before the issue of the Queen's proclamation. He got 500 copies printed under his personal supervision and sent these to the British Parliament. Not a single copy was sold or distributed to the public in India. It is said that Syed Ahmed offered special prayers before sending the pamphlet to the Parliament. Sycd Ahmed dis-carded the populour notion that the mutiny was a rebellion; he debunked and ridiculed the official views of a rebellion as preposterous. The root cause, he elaborated, was a spon-taneous outburst of the simmering discontent accumulated over the years against misconceived policies of the govern-ment and that the mutiny was mismanaged. Both in approach and content, Syed Ahmed's thesis was revealing and revolu-tionary. Mark!. The pamphlet was submitted to the British Parliament and not to the Cavernor-General in India, and a few month's after the issue of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's proclamation of amnesty and non-interference in religion (1st Nov. 1858). When the pamphlet was translated into English and came up before the Governor-General in Council, it caused quite a stir. The Foreign Secretary, Cecil Beadon, called it highly seditious and recommended that the author should be proceeded against. But saner counsels were beginning to prevail under the tolerant leadership of the Governor-General, Lord Canning, and so, in view of Syed Ahmed's signal services in Bijnore, the pamphlet was treated as `bonafide criticism'. Several English translations were

made of it for official use, both in England and in India. The first to be published was made by Sir Auckland' Colvin and Major General G.F.I. Graham in 1873 but the official. versions had in the meantime been quietly exercising their influence on the formulation of policy behind the scenes. Sycd Ahmed had put forth the revolutionary idea that In-dians ought to be associated and consulted in the higher Councils of State for tke abiding good of both the Indian subjects and the empire—an idea that no body ever thought of. Sycd Ahmed was educated in traditional learning and did not know English and was certainly not aware of the new political concepts taking shape in Europe. The first fruit of the impact made by Sycd Ahmed's Pamphlet 'Causes of the Indian Revolt' was The Indian Councils Act of 1861', which gave scats to Indians in the Central Legislative Council. The Pamphlet made history and Sycd Ahmed Khan emerged as the prophet of goodwill who corrected many a wrong notion associated with the Indian Muslims in staging the mutiny. The beauty of his representation was that it is a trucly national representation and Hindus were not blamed for their folly in starting the revolt — the first shot was fired by a high—caste Hindu sepoy, Mangal Pandey, at Barrackpore. In 1856 the Indian Army composed largely of Hindus drawn from Ntirth-East India, U.P. and Behar, constituting over 90% percent. Sycd Ahmed went so far as to criticise the handling of the mutineers at Mcerut stating that they were "brave people who had served the East India Company loyally, had won medals and decorations, and refused to bite the cartridges (the biting of which would have destroyed their castes) because they thought that this was "no open crime at all". They were, however, punished in a manner which thinking men know to have been most wrong and most inopportune. He pointedly added, the prisoners, on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services and thought how they have been recompensed. It was a fearless exposition of the wrongs done by the British to their subjects. It required guts and moral courage of a high degree, to write in such a vein but the political sagacity and decorum which had been the

hallmark of the British character saved him from the conse-quences of such dangerous writings. No wonder that Cecil Bcadon, the Foreign Secretary, who later became the Lieutenant Governor, dubbed it as 'highly seditious' and had recommended that the author should he punished was con-vinced later when he was confronted by Sycd Ahmed who challenged him to produce one copy and he will pay him a thousand rupees, was finally satisfied that the .pamphlet was not written to incite the public but to inform the Govern-ment. Mr. Cecil Beadon became an admirer and friend. Syed Ahmed was ignorant of English language and was still unacquainted with the modern political thought and the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Engels whose 'Communist Manifesto' was published in 1848. A hundred years earlier, in 1749, Rousseau's great political work, the 'Social Contract' which proclaimed the ideal of the sovereignty of the popular will was published. The writings of the great, French revolu-tionary which inspired the French Revolution in 1789 and the American declaration of Independence in 1776 were not known in India although the French had established their first settlement at Pondicherry in 1674 and the French were actively involved in the Carnatic wars in 1748 onwards in a bid to overthrow the British. supremacy on the Indian soil right upto the end of the 18th century as Allies of Hydcr Ali and Tipu Sultan. Yet, Syed Ahmed represented the Indian case with an overtone of indignation without being disloyal exposing the wrongs of the British rulers and their woeful lack of political vision and sagacity. It seems he read the English mind of the Victorian age correctly and fully succeeded in driving home the truth. That speaks volumes of his greatness. Even more remarkable is the dauntless courage of the author; the country was yet under Martial Law and the Anglo-Indian press was spitting fire advocating a firm line, he wrote the book and shrewdly-despatched all the copies to the British Parliament direct.

The Causes of Indian Revolt, which made history, was written by Sycd Ahmed in Urdu in 1858. It was translated into English by Sir Auckland Calvin and G.F.I. Graham and published in England for the first time in 1973 Some extracts

are reproduced below for the information of the inquisitive reader:- (""The primary causes of rebellion arc, I fancy, everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits and views of those by whom the rebellion is brought about." "As regards the rebellion of 1857, the fact is, that for a long period many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected which was sparked off into a conflagart ion." "The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no wide spread conspiracy." "Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Musalmans of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible...." "I see nothing strange in the fact, if fact it were, of the ex-king of Delhi having written a firman to the Persians. The ex-king had a fixed idea that he could transform himself into a fly or .gnat, and that he could in this guise convey himself to other countries, and learn what was going on there. Seriously, he firmly believed that he possessed the power of transformation." "No doubt men of all classes were irritated at the annexa-tion of Oudh; all agreed in thinking that the Honorable East India Company had acted in defiance of its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged. The people of Oudh felt on this occasion much as other men have felt whose countries have been annexed by the East India Com-pany. What I mean is, that the men who would be the most irritated and dismayed at such step, were the noblemen and independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their

own independence, and confiscation of their own lands. Nevertheless, we find that there was not one of the great landed princes who espoused the rebel cause. The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose—the governed, not the governing, class...." "There are no grounds for supposing that the Moham-medans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the profes-sors of a different faith. The English Government does not interfere with the Mohammedans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that that idea of religious crusade should have been entertained. Thirty five years ago a celebrated Moulvi, Mohammed Ismail by name, preached a religious crusade in Hindustan, and called upon all men to aid him in carrying it out.. But on that occasion he distinctly stated that natives of Hindustan, subject to the British Government, could not conscientiously take part in a religious war within the limits of Hindustan. Accordingly, while thousands of Jehads congregated in every district of Hindustan there was no sort of disturbance raised within British territory. Going northwards, these men crossed the Punjab frontier, and waged war in those parts of the country. And even if we should imitate the know-nothings in the various districts and call the late disturbance a religious war, it is very certain that no preparations were made for it before the 10th of May 1857." "Most men agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed, is essential to its stability— that the people should have a voice in its councils. It is from the voice of the people only that the Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst. upon and destroy us. A needle may dam the gushing rivulet; an elephant must turn aside from the swollen torrent. This voice, however, can never be heard. and this sec-111.4y never be acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they m'cre here. in the

position of foreigners—that they differ from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought. The security of a Government is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well as on its careful obser-vance of their rights and privileges. They are in every in-stance the inheritance of the peculiar race. It is to the difference of thought and of custom that laws must be adopted, for they cannot be adopted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of man, and the neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent." "The evils which resulted in India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or giving public expression to their own wishes. But the greatest mis-chief lay in this, that the pcopcl misunderstood the view and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in it, and hence no means of judging of its spirit. At length the Hindustanecs fell into the habit of thinking that all the laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion. Such acts as were repugnant to native customs and character whether in themselves good or bad, increased their suspicion. At last came the time when all men looked upon the British Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of lire. They learned to think that if today they escaped from the hands of Government, to-mor-row they would fall into them; or that even if they escaped on the morrow, the third day would sec their ruin. There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas." "I 'do not wish to enter into the question as to how ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be al-

lowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to for'm an assembly like the English Parliament. These arc knotty points. All I wish to prove here is, that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances arc due to the neglect of such a measure." "The mistake of the Government made itself felt in every matter connected with Hindustan. All causes of rebellion, however various, can be traced to this one. And if we look at these various causes separately and distinctly, we shall, I think, find that they may be classed under five heads :-

1. ignorance on the part of the people; by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

2. the passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan and the introduction of such as wcrc in themselves objectionable.

3. ignorance on the part of the 'Government of the condition of the people, of their modes of thought and life and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. the neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good Government of Hin-dustan.

5. the bad management and disaffection of the army.

"I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by the people, and that the misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hin-dustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors.

INTERFERENCE IN MATTERS OF RELIGION

There is not the smallest doubt that all mcn, whether ignorant or well-informed felt a firm conviction that the English Government was bent on interfering with their religion, and with their old-established customs. They believed that the Government intended to force the Christian religion and foreign customs upon Hindu and Musalman alike. This was the chief among the secondary causes of the rebellion. It was believed by every one that Government was slowly but surely developing its plans. Every step, it was thought, was being taken with the most extreme caution. Hence it is that men said that Government does not speak of proselytising Mohammedan community summarily and by force; but it will throw off the veil as it feels itself stronger, and will act with greater decision. Events increased and strengthened this conviction. Men never thought that our Government would openly compel them to change their religion. The idea was, that indirect steps would be taken. It was supposed that Government would, by making the people deprived of the knowledge of their own faith, work on the cupidity and poverty of its subjects, and, on condition of their abjuring their faith, offer them employment in its own service." "In the year 1837, the year of the great draught, the step which was taken by rearing orphans in the principles of the Christian faith, was looked upon throughout the North-West Provinces as an example of the schemes of Government. It was supposed that when Government had summarily brought. all Hindustances to a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed. The Hindustanees used to feel an increasing dismay at the annexation of each suc-cessive country by the Honourable East India Company.": "In the first days of British rule in. Hindustan, there used to be less talk than at present on the subject of religion. It has been commonly believed that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost. It has been supposed that Government, and the officers of Govern-ment through-out the country, were in the habit of giving

large sums of money to these missionaries, with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them. Many convented officers and many military men have been in the habit of talking to their subordinates about religion; some of them would hid their servants come to their houses and listen to the preaching of missionaries, and thus it happened that in the course of time no man felt sure that his creed would last even his own lifetime." "The missionaries, moreover, introduced a new system of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controvcrtial tracts, in the shape of questions and answers. Men of a different faith were spoken of in those tracts in a most offensive and irritating way. In Hindustan these things have always been managed very differently. Every man in this country preaches and explains his views in his own mosque or his own house. If any one wishes to listen to him, he can go to the mosque or house and hear what he has to say. But the missionaries' plan was exactly the opposite. They used to attend places of public resort—markets, for instance, and fairs, where men of different creeds were collected together and used to begin preaching there. It was only from fear of the authorities that no one bade them to be off about their bsuincss. In some districts the missionaries were actual-ly attended by .policemen from the station. And then the missionaries did not confine themselves to explaining the doctrines of their own books. In violent and unmeasured language they attacked the followers and the holy places of other creeds, annoying and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to him. In this way, too, the seeds of discontent were sown deep in the hearts of the people." "Then missionary schools were started in which the prin-ciples of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of Government. In some districts covenented of-ficers of his position and of great influence used to visit the schools and enouraged the people to attend them; examina-tions were held in book which taught the tenets of the

Christian.religion.---Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such-questions as the : "Who is your God ?" "Who is your redeemer '?" and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to Christian faith—prizes being given accordingly. This again added to the prevailing "When the village schools were established, the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The Perganah visitors and Deputy Inspectors who used to go from village to village advising the parents to enter their 'children at those schools, got the nickname of the native clergymen.... Their sole idea was that these schools were Christian schools established with the view of converting them." "Alluding to the Government colleges' earlier traditional curricula, including Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, Syed Ahmed maintained: "The large colleges established id the towns were from the first a- source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment Shah Abdul Aziz, a celebrated Moulvi of Hindustan was alive. The Mohammadens asked him for a fatwa on the subject. His answer was distinct "Go" he said, "read in the English colleges, and learn the English language. The laws of Islam admit it" Acting on this opinion the Mohamrnadens did not hesitate to enter these colleges. At that time, however, the colleges were conducted on a principle widtly different- from that which is adopted at present. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English were equally taught. The Tiqah"Hadees' and other such books were read. Examinations -were- held in the Tiqah' for which cer-tificates of proficiency -were-given. Religion in any way thrust forward. The professors were men- of worth and weight — all scholars of great reputation, wide' -knowledge and sound moral character. But all -this has, been changed. The study of Arabic is little thought of. The Tiqah' and `Hadees' were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed but the study of Urdu and English has greatly increased. All this

has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan." "Such was the state of the village schools and the colleges, such that the general feeling of distrust throughout the country as to the views of the government about conversion. When a proclamation was issued by Government to the following effect; Whoever had studied and passed cxmaina-tion in certain sciences and in the English language and had received a certificate to that effect was to be considered as having prior claim for employment in the public service. Petty appointments were granted on the production of cer-tificates from the Deputy Inspectors who had hitherto been nicknamed native clergymen. This came as a blow to every one. Suspicion increased tenfold. The rumour again rose that Governemnt wished to deprive the Hindustanecs of all means of subsistence, and by impoverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs. "Finally in a public letter, missionary Edmund asserted Christianity's superiority over Islam and Hiduism by virtue of the West's scientific, technical and political superiority over the East. His letter stated : "All India was now under one rule, that the telegraph had so connected all parts of the country that they were the one; that the rail roads brought them so near that all towns were as one; the time had clearly come when there should be but one faith, that we should all become Christians."

CONFISCATION AND RESUMPTION OF LANDS

00000000"The laws providing for the resumption of revenue free-lands, the last of which was Regulation of 1819, were most obnoxious. Nothing disgusted the natives of this country more with the English Government than this resumption of revenue-free lands. Sir T. Munro and the Duke of Wel-lington said truly enough that to resume lands granted revenue-free, was to set the whole people against us, and to make beggars of the masses. I cannot describe the odium

and the hatred which this act brought on the Government, or the extent to which it beggared the people. Many lands which had been held revenue-free for centuries were sud-denly resumed on the flimsiest pretexts. The people said that the Government not only did nothing for them itself, but undid what former Governments had done. This measure altogether lost for the Government the confidence of its subjects." "In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous that the whole country was turned upside down. To remedy this, Government passed the law which is called Regulation 1 of 1821, and appointed a Commission of Inquiry. This Commission, however, gave rise to a thousand other evils. After all, the affair was not brought to a satis-factory conclusion, and at last the Commission was abolished.All I now say is, that whether this system of sales was the result of necessity or of ignorance, it has at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. The claim of the Govcnrment lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself."

DISTRICT OFFICERS' IGNORANCE OF PEOPLES' CONDITIONS

"The people again, having no voice in the Government of the country, could not better their conditions; and if they did try to make themselves heard by means of petitions, these same petitions were, if ever attended to, and some-times never even heard. Government, it is true, received reports from the subordinate officials; but even these offi-cials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of get-ting at them." "Now, the Government ought to have received the com-plaints and petitions of its people direct, and not, as it did, invariably by reports from its district officers." "I feel it most necessary to say that which is in my heart, and which I believe to be true, even at the risk of being

distasteful to many of the ruling race. I maintain that the maintenance of friendly relations between the Governors and the governed is far more necessary than between the in-dividuals; private friendships only affect a few, friendship and good feeling between a Government and its subjects affect a nation. As in private friendships two persons are' united by the bond of a common friendship, so also should a Government and its people be knit together in like man-ner. The people and the Government I may liken to a tree, the better being the root, and the firmer the growth of that root. As the root is, so will the tree be. Friendship, inter-course and sympathy are therefore not wholly dependent for their existence on the givers and the recipients being of the same religion, country, or race." "Does not the Apostle Paul admonishes us in these beautiful words? "And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one towards another and towards all men, even as we do toward you" And does not Jesus admonish us in these? "Therefore all things whatsoever we would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." "These were meant to inculcate friendship and love to all men; and no one, no wise and thoughtful man, will say that the admonition is wrong, that friendship and love . to our fellow-men are not beneficial, that their results are nil, and that they do not blot out much that is wicked. As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people, as was its duty to do. The Creator has instilled into the heart of man and the instinct of animals, that the strong should be kind to and care for the weak. The father loves his child before the child loves him. The man tries to win the woman, not woman the man. If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position, he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was therefore for the Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. If it had done so, the results would have been great, and the people would have rejoiced. Alas that it has not done so'. Friendship is a feeling which springs

from the heart and which cannot be kindled by 'admonitions' .... Government has hitherto kept itrself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and the dry grass—as if it thought that, were the two brought in contact, the latter would be burnt up. It and its people were like two different sorts of stone, one white and the other black, which stones, too, were daily more and more widely separated. Now the relations between them ought to have been those between the streaks of white and black in the stone called Abri, in which we see the former close alongside of the latter, the one blending with the other. Government was, of course perfectly right to maintaining special friendly relations with its Christian subjects (English), but it was, at the same time, incumbent upon it to show towards its native subjects that brotherly kindness which the Apostle Paul exhorts us to in these words : "And to God-liness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity". It must be borne in mind that the blood of the Muham-madan conquerors and that of the people of the country was not the same ; that their faith was not the same; their manners and customs not the same; that in their hearts the people did not like them; and that at first there was little or no amalgamation of the two. What, then, was the secret of their becoming friends? .... One great source of the stability of a Government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour, and thus gaining their affections.... In the first years of the British rule in India, the people were heartily in favour of it. This good feeling the Government has now for-feited, and the natives very generally say that they arc treated with contempt. A native gentleman is, in the eyes of any petty official, as much lower than that official as that same official esteems himself lower than a duke. This opinion of many of these officials is that no native can be a gentleman."

THE ENGLISH ARMY SYSTEM HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAULTY

"Owing to the paucity of the European clement the people of India only stood in awe of the sepoys, who thus

became puffed up with pride, and thought there were none like them in the world. They looked upon the European portion as a myth, and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their own prowess. A common saying of theirs was, that they had enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burma to Kabul. This pride of the sepoys was most marked after Punjab was conquered. So far had it gone that they made objections to anything which they did not like, and I believe even remonstrated when ordered to march consequent on the yearly reliefs. It was precisely at this time, when the army was imbued with this feeling of pride, and the knowledge or rather conjecture that Government would grant anything they stood out for, that the new cartridges were issued—cartridges which they really believed were made up with fat, and the using of which would destroy their caste. They refused to bite them. When the regiment at Barrack-pore was disbanded, and the general order announcing the same was read out to each regiment, the deepest grief was felt throughout the army. They thought that the refusal to bite the cartridges, the biting of which would have destroyed their caste, was no crime at all; that the men of the dis-banded regiment were not in the least to blame, and that their disbandment was an act utterly devoid of justice on the part of the Government. The whole army deeply regretted ever having had anything to do with Government. They felt that they had shed their blood in its cause, and conquered many countries for it; that in return it wished to take away their caste, and had been disbanded and had not been treated with greater severity; but, partly from feeling certain that the cartridges were mixed with fat, partly from grief at seeing their comrades disbanded at Barrackpore, and still more, by reason of their pride, arrogance rmd vanity, the whole army was determined, come what might, not to bite the cartridges." "Correspondence was undoubtedly actively carried on in the army after the events at Barrackpore, and messages were sent telling the men not to bite the cartridges. Upto this time there was a strong feeling of indignation and

irritation in the army, but, in my opinion, there was no intention of rebelling." "The fatal month of May 1857 was now at hand, in which the army was punished in a manner which thinking men know to have been most wrong and most inopportune. The anger which the news of this punishment created in the minds of the sepoys was intense. The prisoners, on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services and thought how they had been recompensed; and their pride which, as I have before said, was the feeling of the whole army, caused them to feel the degradation all the more keenly. Then the rest of the troops at Meerut were fully persuaded that they would either be compelled to bite the cartridges or undergo the same punishment. The rage and grief led to the fearful events of the 10th of May, which events arc unparalleled in the annals of history. After committing themselves thus, the mutineers had no choice but to continue in their career of rebellion."

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN'S LITERARY WORKS — A RESUME

1836—Syed Ahmed began his literary career at the age of 19 with contributions to `Syed ul Akhbar' edited and pub-lished by his brother, Syed Mohammed 1840—`JAM-E-JAM' (A History of Mughal Emperors of India (43 kings from Taimur to Bahadur Shah)

1841—CIVIL LAW DIGEST (Intikhab al Akhawayn)

1843 —`Jala al Qulub Bi ziker al Mahbub' (Thi Prophet's Life) (for Recitation at Mauloods)

1845—Translation of some chapters of the book :- `Tuhaf-e-Asna-i-Asharya' written by Shah Abdul Aziz

1846— `Asar al Sanadid' (Archeological 'History of Delhi) with Biographical sketches of the contemporary personalities of the city which won him international recognition—Trans-lated into English and French and Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London

1856—Edited and Published tAain-e-Akbari' in three Volumes with an addition of the Autobiography of Emperor Jehangir (Published by the Royal Asiatic SoCiety in 1862)

1857—History of the Bijnor Rebellion (Tariq-i-Sarkashi i Zila Bijnaur)

1858 — Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind (Causes of the Indian Revolt)

1866—Aligarh Institute Gazette—Publication started in March 1866

1870— Qutbat-i-Ahmediyah (12 Essays on the Life of Muhammed) Published in English By M/s. Trubncr & Co. London

1870— `Tahzib al Akhlaq' Bi-lingual Weekly—(Moham-medan Social Reformer in English)started publication on 24 December 1870 had three lives: (1) 1870 to 1876 (2) 1879 - 1881 (3) 1894 - 1897)

1872—Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans— Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen (A series of Articles published in 'Pioneer' during 1871 and- later published in book form in 1872) 1880 — `Tafsir al Quran' (in six volumes)

Vol.I ………… 1880

Vol. II……….. 1882

Vol.III……….. 1885

Vol.IV……….. 1888

Vol. V………… 1892

Vol.VI……….. 1895

1865—Translation and Commentary on- the Bible (in three volumes)

1893 — Translation of a book on French Revolution and Nepoleon

There are many more works by Sir Sycd Ahmed Khan which have not been mentioned. He was a voluminous writer and is known to have contributed about 135 articles to Tahzib al Akhlaq.

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Chapter 2

POST MUTINY PERIOD

EMERGING OUT OF

MEDIEVAL AGE

With the failure of the first war of independence in 1857, the whole of the Indo-Pak sub-continent came under the British rule which had far reaching consequences for the Muslim community which bore the brunt of the 150 years long interregnum, chaos and anarchy, making it all the more painful to emerge from the morass of the mdcieval age and to progressively adjust itself to the modern age ushered by the British rule. For over 700 years the Muslim community had been basking under the favours of the Muslim ruling dynnasties in the sub-continent sharing the pride of being the ruling race in race in relation to the Hindus who out-numbered them by ten-to-one. With the loss of political power, there followed a tragic period of oppression and humiliation, social and economic degradation. They were dispossessed of properties and deprived of Goverment employmet which had been their sole means of livelihood, power, wealth and social influence. Now, crest-fallen, they

had to face the increasing challenge posed by the emergence of militant Hindu nationalism surging from Bengal and its tidal flow affecting the Hindu-Muslim communal amity prevailing right upto the North-West Province of Delhi and Punjab under the protective umbrella of the British rulers. The British victory in the battle of Plassey in Junc 1757 marks the rise of the British power in India and, incidentally, the birth and resurgence of militant Hindu nationalism. Hin-dus were the first to respond, eager and receptive to British rule and English education. The Muslim community in the North-West woke up late, — almost a hundred years late, allowing the Hindus a lead of hundred years in the march towards progress in the field of social, economic and educa-tional advancement. In the South, Muslims were a small minority and were left to struggle for survival on their own and in Deccan— the Nizam's State of .Hyderabad, Muslims remained safe, unmolested and protected right upto 1948 until the state was merged in the Indian Union. During the turbulent years of the mutiny, Hyderabad remained calm and unaffected. In Bengal, the plight of Muslims was the worst. Writing about the plight of the Muslim community in Bengal in 1871, W.W. Hunter, in his book: "The Indian Musalman" observes:-

> 1 "During the last seventy five years the Musalman houses of Bengal have either disappeared from the earth or are at this moment, being submerged beneath the new strata of society which our rule has developed—haughty, insolent, indolent but still, the descendants of nobles and con-querors to the last".

"Use of Persian in conducting public business was discon-tidued and in its place Bengali was introduced in 1837. The Hindus poured into, and have since completely filled, every grade of official life".

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN NORTH WEST — MUSLIM APATHY

Lord Lake conquered Delhi in 1803 after defeating the Mahrattas and Emperor Shah Alam-II was taken under protection. The presence of a British Resident, the British Garrison in Delhi and the fort of Allahabad and a community of British families presented the first glimpses of modernity to the people of Delhi. Delhi College was founded in 1825 and on the recommendation of the-British Resident, Sir Charles Metcalf, English classes-were added in 1827. Itimad-ud-Daulah Sayyid Fazal Ali Khan, Minister of the King of Oudh executed a will whereby he left rupees 170,000/- in trust with the British Government stipulating that five percent interest on the Government owned securities should be spent on 'the instruction. of Arabic and. Persian' in the Delhi College. Thus richly endowed, the. Delhi College started teaching English. language and Western sciences through the medium of English—English -being-the exclusive medium of instruction -"ford.- higher education throughout India from 1835. Modern education was imparted through the medium of Urdu in Delhi College. There were two Departments—Western and Oriental in which Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit were taught as additional subjects.-

Muslims remained apathetic to English and Western education. Shah Abdul Aziz, the great theologian was asked-for his opinion and he promptly issued a `Fatwa' asking the Muslims to go and learn English and Western sciences. In spite of the Fatwa, the Muslims continued to send their children to madressahs where education was imparted ac-cording to the traditional curriculum. Syed Ahmed received his education in the madressah according to the traditional curriculum like all other children of the affluent families of the aristocracy. Altaf Husain Hali, born in Panipat, visiting Delhi in 1853, expressed his views in the following words:.

"In Panipat one could hardly hear a mention made c English education. People only thought of it as a means to

> acquiring British Government's employment rather than as a source of knowledge. On the contrary the `Ulema' con-sidered the English schools as obnoxious. I stayed in Delhi for one-and-a-half years but I never did once set my glance at the college nor did I have the opportunity to meet the students of the college including Maulvi Nazir Ahmed, Maulvi Zaka ullah and Maulvi Mohammad Husain Azad".

Soon after the mutiny, Syed Ahmed published a Review of Instruction, written in Urdu and English, in which he set forth very radical views: (1858)

> 3 "The Government holds the opinion that where there is planning for instruction of a people, the best vehicle for it is the language of that people, and thus the time which would be spent on teaching the vocabulary and idiom of another language would be saved. By way of a parallel it is pointed out that all the Europeans and Arabs received instruction in their own language. We ought to consider whether the language we want to use for instruction can be applied for that purpose...First of all, we must know with regard to the language in which we meant to impart instruc-tion, whether there are sufficient text books in it or not, and if not, instruction in that language is out of the question. The second thing we must ask is, whether this language in itself is suitable for text books to be written in it...And, thirdly, whether the result of the study of sciences in such a language would be quickness of apprehension, sharpness of intellect, soundness of mind, high intelligence, facility of speech, power of persuasion, and a character which gives evidence of education. The Urdu language cannot satisfy these three conditions. Therefore it is the duty of the Government to change completely the system of educa-tion...And it should start instruction in that language through which the real aim of education can be attained. It is my firm conviction that it should abolish into the system of imparting instruction in the Indian vernacular, and that it should only continue with English schools".

SYED AHMED AS AN EDUCATIONIST AND SOCIAL REFORMER

Syed Ahmed considered that social reform and education must precede political-development: Syed Ahmed's role as a practical social reformer and educationist began in the 1860s while he was still a government servant. He was fully con-vinced that education holds the key to all progress and prospects of reform. Before and after the mutiny Syed Ahmed had pondered deeply on the condition of Muslims especially with reference to th,e educational backwardness.

> [4]"His idea that the education imparted was utterly inadequate to the spirit of the age—consisting as it did, of only logic, philosophy, Arabic literature and religion. Geography, the modern arts and sciences and recent histories of nations were sealed books to them. Like Sir Charles Metcalf, he looked at educa-tion that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities and substitute a rational -c.onviction of the benefits of our government; -that it-riTay unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately -annihilated. Syed Ahmed's motto was, "Educate, Educate, Educate. All the socio-political diseases of India, may, he once said to me," be cured by this treatment. Cure the root, and the tree will flourish."

In 1858, therefore, he made his first attempt at education, by opening at Moradabad a school specially for the study of modern history. There being, in his estimation, no books in the native languages suitable for this branch of study, the idea of a Translation Society dawned on his mind. In 1862, he was transferred as subordinate judge to Ghazipur, and almost immediately commenced the first commentary on the Bible ever written by a Muhammadan." The Commentary was published in three volumes in 1863, printed in his

private press. The object of the commentary was to "Explore areas of harmony and foster sympathetic understanding of Christianity among Muslims".

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY-1864

The Translation Society, later on came to be known as: 5 "The Scientific Society of Aligarh" was founded by Syed Ahmed at Ghazipur on the 9th January 1864. The, first meeting was held in his house with a large gathering of European and Indian gntlemen., The meeting was attended by Syed Ahmed's biographer, Mr. G.I. Graham;-who also spoke on the occasion. He said:-

> "For the first time in the annals of Hindustan has a Muhammadan gentleman, alone and unaided, thought over and commenced a Society in order to bring the knowledge and literature of the nations of the Western world within reach of the immense masses of the people of the East. At present all the works on the Arts and Sciences are sealed to the people of Asia as a body; and when we recollect that it will be through the modern arts and sciences that this country is to advance with the age. I am sure that those interested in India's wellbeing will give their hearty aid to this Society. All the many works on the capabilities of this country are un-known to most of the people here. How many are there in India who know anything of the valuable contents of mother earth? How many are there who are acquainted with any of the modern improve-ments on the materials with which the soil is tilled, water is raised, cotton prepared—or in short, on almost everything which is at present done, only very superficially or clumsily by the mass of the people of India? The many works on all the above (sub-jects) will gradually be translated by the Society, and thus they will become generally known....The object

of the promoter of this Society, Syed Ahmed Khan, is not to obstruct the study of English but by bring-ing the English literature within reach of his fellow countymen, to increase the civilization, and there-fore, the wealth and wellbeing of his country. English is being more and more studied in India but he knows well that it will take long time before the masses of the higher classes even will be sufficiently grounded in that language to benefit by the knowledge which it opens up, in order to show clearly his opinion on the necessity of studying English. I may here quote a part of the speech delivered by him (Syed Ahmed) last October (1863) before the Mohammadan Literary Society at Calcut-ta:-

5 "The reason, Gentlemen, why we are all so back-ward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and benefited by the philosophy, sciences and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times. Many grand works have been writ-ten in German, Frt. ich and other languages. These are all to be found translated into English. England has produced as many, if not more, grand works than other nations. Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French etc. as we have all their learned works in the English tongue, and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think, it is very clear that English is the language to which we ought to devote our attention. Is it any prejudice that prevents us from learning it? No; It cannot be so with us. Such is only said by those who do not know us. No religious prejudices inter-fere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. From remote antiquity "have we studied Persian, and no prejudice has ever interfered with the study of that language. How, then, can any religious objection be raised

against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English?"

"Looking at the state of my fellow coutrymen's minds, I find, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present, — from their not being acquainted with the manners and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world, — they are unable to take lessons, and profit by their experiences. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have udermined the foundations of those nations once the most wealthy, the most civilised, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age. If, in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses,—a power which should have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the empire of Her Majesty in the East would be,—there is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred. For the above reasons, I am strongly in favour of dissiminating a knowledge of history, ancient and modern, for the improvement of my fellow countrymen. Various small editions of works on history have been translated by the Department of Public Instruction for the use of the schools; but these do not contain that copiousness of detail, that full description of the morals, virtues and vices of nations, which, in my opinion, arc necessary in order to confer any real benefit.

"On the native mind, the book which, I think, would be very suitable for our society to commence with, is one written by M. Rollin, on the Ancient Races, in which are adthirably described their discovery of and improvements on the arts and sciences; as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices. This book is equally adapted to old and young. We may with truth designate the Greeks as the school master of the world in their own and also in the succeeding ages. But we, in India, know nothing of their former state of bar-barism, of the means by which they raised themsel-ves to the position which, we know, they attained and we are also utterly ignorant of what conduced to bring about the prosperity of Europe, which now so far excels the Greece of ancient days.

"From a want of knowledge of political economy, the natives of India are utterly in the dark as to the principles on which the Government of their country is carried on. They do not know that the revenue is collected for their own benefit, and not for that of Government. Millions are under the idea that the rupees, as fast as they are collected, are hurried on board ships, and carried off to England. Why is this? Only through their ignorance of political economy....I would therefore recommend the trans-lation, little by little, so as not to interfere with smaller works, of Mill's Political Economy".

G.F.I. Graham, in his speech said:

"In commencing the business of this Society to-day, we have commenced a movement which, if the people of India will only give their hearty aid, is destined, in conjunction with many other measures working for its good, to make India a wealthy (far more wealthier than even she is at present), and what is Qf far more importance, an enlightened

> country. Indeed I ought to put the latter adjective first, since increase of enlightenment is equivalent to increase of wealth. Look how England's wealth has increased with her education within the last century. She had great difficulties to contend with—difficulties far greater than even the many difficul-ties which we know only too well obstruct the spread of knowledge in this country. In those days she had no railways, no steam printing presses—lit-tle but her own innate genius and unconquerable energy. There is genius sufficient in India which, if its people will only put to it the shoulder of com-bination and perseverance, wil soon place this country amongst the first as regards civilization as she is at present amongst the last. All the many aids to enlightenment which it took England many many years to invent, experimentalise upon, and finally to bring it to general use, are all at hand now. A desire to benefit by all these can only be thought-fully kindled in the minds of this country by bringing them and many other things prominently to view, which is the object of our this Society....I would only add, in conclusion, how much I feel is due to the enlightened and persevering man, the instigator of this Society, who is doing his best, both in head and pocket, to bring his country out of centuries of sleep, and who, after ages, will, I am sure, be awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors to his country, Syed Ahmed Khan.

Mr. G.F.I. Graham mentions that in the previous year, at Syed Ahmed's request, he translated and published at Syed Ahmed's private press, two articles in the ‘Edinborough Review' on the administration of Lords Dalhousie and Canning. It transpired that the writer was Duke of Argyll and that he was much gratified at these having been translated. Later, on request from Syed Ahmed, the Duke of Argyll cordially assented to he the patron of the Scientific Society of Aligarh. He was the first English Duke who ever lent the

encouragement of his name to a Society, founded by an Indian gentleman. By a curious and happy coincidence, it was from the Duke's hands at the India Office, that six years later, Syed Ahmed received his Insignia of "The Companion of the Star of India" and lunched with him afterwards. The Society's Headquarters, were afterwards transferred to Aligarh, where, through Syed Ahmed's exertions and the liberality of the residents, its handsome institute, hall and library were erected. As many as 42 translations of standard books were published which gave a great impetus in the coming years to the enrichment of Urdu and provided a model sixty years later to the Osmania University, Hyderabad, to carry forward the work and impart higher education through the medium of Urdu.

Syed Ahmed's work at Ghazipur bore fruit and within two months of the inauguration of the Scientific Society, foundation stone of a new school was laid, (which became the Victoria College afterwards) an institution with an Indian as the Principal. Mr. Spate, the Judge of Ghazipur, paid glowing tributes to Syed Ahmed. In his speech he said:

> "You will presently have the advantage of listening to an address from Syed Ahmed Khan, whose deep learning and liberal views are well known to you all, whose stay in this district has been of the greatest benefit to it".

Syed Ahmed, in his speech said:-

> "This assembly is composed of English and native gentlemen of this district, the former of whom have attended here, not as your rulers but at well-wishers. Let us trust that He who .rules on high. may permit us to enjoy many such in our future lives, many such in which the natives in this country will be associated with those of the ruling race, for the purpose of compassing the improvement of the people of India. The English have the reputation of

being the well-wishers of all mankind, without reference to race or creed. Although their method of carrying out their good intentions be sometimes open to criticism, still they generally come right in the end, and attain objects. Your resolution of founding a College in this district is noble and praiseworthy one and will serve to inspire the people of districts to initiate your ex-ample. Bear in mind, Gentlemen, that Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria as had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on equal footing; and this assurance is not a mere matter of form, but a reality. Those amongst you here present who have visited Calcutta within last few years, will have noticed that there is a coutryman of your own as judge of the High Court, possessing the same powers, enjoying the same dignities and receiving the same pay as his brother, the English judges of that Court. You are also aware that several of your fellow coutrymen are members of the Legislative Council of India, associated with the Viceroy and other High dignitaries in the formation of laws for your well-being, and they give their opinions on the same wihout fear or partiality. Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government (Indian Councils Act of 1861 (1-8-1861) that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me be-cause I was afraid that the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. Thanks to the Almighty, this fear has proved groundless, and those of our fellow-countrymen who have been honoured with a scat in the highest Councils of India have discharged their duties manfully and. right well. But it still requires that we should increase our knowledge of things in general.

The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a remarkable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every Division or District and that thus the law that it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. There is one great fact—that Her Most Gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike; and, let their religion, tribe or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects and to conform ourselves to the age."

Syed Ahmed had completely shed the medieval outlook on life and condemned the feudal past in no uncertain words. He was no more living in the past: he was looking forward and had formulated new concepts and boldly thinking in terms of Indian people truly preserving his innate identity as a Muslim fearlessly espousing the cause of the Muslims. He kept himself busy and kept his friends, admirers and patrons busy. He was the hub of all social and educational activities.

BRITISH INDIA ASSOCIATION

> [8]"An offshoot of the 'Scientific Society' was the `British India Association' which was formed at a meeting of the Society on 10th May 1866. The ob-jects of this Association was to make known prominently the grievances and the points of view of Indians to the British people in general and the British Parliament in particular. It made several useful and effective representations to Parliament and the Government of India regarding Indian grievances. The Association had, comparatively speaking, a. short existence because of his transfer from Aligarh in 1867, and at his new station, he could barely

attend to the affairs of 'The Scientific Society'. The attitude of the 'British Indian Association' on political questions had been stated boldly and candidly by Syed Ahmed in his inaugural address to the Association on 10th May 1866. In hs inaugural ad-dress, Syed Ahmed exhorted the Indians "To shake off their indifference to their welfare and instead of brooding silently over such acts of the Government as did not meet their wishes and needs, have the courage to speak out openly and honestly" An eminent political Scientist of India, G.N. Singh, in his book, 'Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development' has described this speech as the forerunner of the All India National Congress" Hon'ble R.M. Sayani, in his address to the Twelfth Session of the All India National Congress extensively cited excerpts of this speech. Indeed, it is true, that Syed Ahmed was the first Indian to speak with so much courage and political sagacity about the rights of the Indian people. Extracts of the speech, as quoted by Syed Ahmed's biographer, G.F.I. Graham, are reproduced below:-

Syed Ahmed said: 9 "Gentlemen, If we look back upon that period of India's history which had passed by her under a despotic government, we find kings or rajas possessed of unlimited power and authority over their subject—millions, and we know that their Governments, instead of being guided by the laws of reason and justice, were carried on according to their arbitrary will, their caprices or their passions. The title "Disposer of the peoples' lives' and "other similar titles which were adopted by kings and emperors of India was meant to express their power over their people for good or evil, and the title in most cases was synonymous with vice, tyranny and self-seeking. The rule of these former emperors and rajas was neither in accordance with the Hindu nor the Mohammadan religion. It was based upon nothing but tyranny and oppression; the law of might

was that of right; the voice of the people was not listened to; the strong and the turbulent oppressed the feeble and the poor, and usurped all their privileges with impunity for their own selfish ends. After this long period of what was but mitigated slavery, it was ordained by a higher power than any on earth, that the destinies of India should be placed in the hands of an enlightened nation, whose principles of Government were in accordance with those of intellect, justice and reason. Yes, my friends, the great God above, He who is equally the God of the Jews, the Hindus, the Christians and the Mohammadans, placed the British over the people of India—gave them rational laws (and no religious laws revealed to us by God can be at variance with rational laws), gave you, upto the year 1858, the East India Company. The rule of that now defunct body of merchant princes was one of eminent for justice and moderation. The only point in which it failed to satisfy" the wants of the age latterly, was the fact of its not being a regal Government,—a necessity which had gradually forced itself more prominently into notice as time rolled on, when the once solitary factory on the banks of the Ganges had grown into an empire half as large as Europe, with a population of nearly two hundred millions. Owing to this—owing to the fact that the affairs of India were almost entirely conducted by the Court of Directors—one great obstacle to the satisfying the requirements of all classes of the community was this, that Parliament in those days—and, alas that I should have to say it: in these days also—was not sufficiently alive to the importance of Indian affairs to take any interest in them unless they by chance happened to touch upon the politics of the day, the fate of a ministry or were brought prominently to notice by the brilliancy of some popular orator.

> "It has been a matter of sincere regret to all thinking natives, that since the assumption of the reins of Government of India by her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria in person, the attention of her Parliament has not been more bestowed upon measures affecting the future welfare of the in-habitants of this portion of her dominion. It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect its members to take a deep interest in your affairs before them? The British Parliament represents the flower of the wealth and intellect of England; and there are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race. To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves, be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, Gentlemen, that the wants, be they the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian or the Mohammadan, of the black man or of the white, will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her so characteristic of Eastern nations, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency arc to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation?"

"Are the Europeans thought factious and discontented? Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong, the apprehension unfounded, and that there is not an Englishman

of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope, such a healthy sign of increased civilisation on the part of its in-habitants. If you only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an indepedent race like the English, than if you remain as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every Government even the wisest than ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people, or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy, whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourself as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the wellbeing of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice, or otherwise, of the acts of Government".

9 "Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his able work on Political Economy, says:"The rights and interests of every or any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The second is that, the general prosperity attains a greater height, and is more widely diffused, in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it." "These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are in those of any other nations; and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you he afraid? Here am I, a servant of Government, speaking out plainly

to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction, one which I invariably expressed both in public and, in private, that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your ruler, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes and fears and you may be quite, sure that such a course of coduct will place in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights; and that is compatible, nay, synonymous with the loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth having".

A number of subscribers at once joined the Association, and Syed Ahmed was elected Secretary.

"The 'Scientific Society Magazine', grew into the 'Aligarh Institute Gazette' published twice weekly. The Gazette continued as long as Syed Ahmed lived and, except during his absenee from Aligarh, its editorial was always written by him. It was a bi-lingual paper, some of the articles being both in Urdu and English and printed in contiguous columns, while the others were in either language. Side by side with reports and reviews of current events in the political and social spheres, it reproduced all the lectures delivered under the auspices of the Society.[10] "Throughout the thirty two years of its existence, the Aligarh Institute Gazette was the keeper of the Indian intelligentsia's political and social conscience. A truthful reporter, a penetrating analyst, a fearless critic and a wise counsellor, it not only kept both the Government and the people informed of all important events having a bearing on the country's progress, but also educated them about how to understand each, others' problems and points of view and how to co-operate with each other in the task of developing the country into a modern state".

Syed Ahmed's inaugural speech, (delivered in Urdu) reproduced above in full, is remarkable indeed for its courage and candour, must have quietly stirred the con-science of the rulers to give a little more thought to the weal `11(1 welfare of the Indian people and, at the same time, emboldened the otherwise timid people to stand up for their rights. A year later, Syed Ahmed was transferred to Benares (1867) and the Association faded away. However, Syed Ahmed availed the forum of the British India Association to submit a representation to the Viceroy on the subject of introduction of University education in Urdu.

Syed Ahmed recommended that either an Urdu faculty should be created in Calcutta University or a separate university established in the North-West Province so that examinations at the university level, carrying the award of Certificates and Degrees, could be held in Urdu in all subjects then taught in English in Calcutta university. The Memorandum was signed by four Hindu and five Muslim members.

[11]"In November 1866, Syed Ahmed was presented by Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy, with a gold medal and a copy of Macaulay's works for his good efforts in the cause of educa-tion. The following is the inscription on the Medal:-

> "Presented by the Viceroy of India, in Public Dur-bar, to Syed Ahmed, a loyal and valuable servant of the Queen, in recognition of his continuous and successful efforts to spread the light of literature and science among his countrymen".

AGRA, 20th November 1866.

The inscription attached on Macaulay's works, in His Excellency's own handwriting, is:-

> "To Maulvi Syed Ahmed Bahadoor, Principal' Saddar Ameen of Aligarh, in recognition of his conspicuous services in the diffusion of knowledge and general enlightenment among his coutrymen".

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Syed Ahmed was a man of action and always led the way, infusing new enthusiasm. His approach right upto 1870 was that of a true liberal, enlightened Indian nationalist. His educational values throughout his life were motivated by traditional values. He firmly believed that the medium of instruction must be the mother tongue and he set the pace and, at the same time, he laid the greatest emphasis on the teaching of English and adopting English as the medium in higher schools for the teaching of Western sciences and technology. He firmly believed that Indians must come forward to establish schools through mutual help instead of waiting for the Government to establish schools. Though brought up in aristocratic environment he was a thorough democrat and encouraged Hindus and Muslims to throw out the age-old concept of high and low by birth, and inculcate the ideals of social equality. Syed Ahmed founded the first school at Muradabad on 5th Nov. 1859 and on the occasion of the first prize distribution ceremony in 1860 he delivered a speech in which he said:

> [12] "Do not for a moment think that it is in the least degree derogatory for the landlord's children to study at a public school. Think of the little Patshalas of a former age and read the history of the Muslims, and you will find that high dignitaries regarded their children's education in large public schools as a great honour. For all our eminent Pundits and Maulvis and even those who lived before us, and whom all you great men hold in high esteem, received their early education and acquired their profound learning at public schools and not at their own houses".

"I have placed my own son in this school and I see my son seated among his poorer companions and answering the questions of the examiners and meekly putting forth his hands to receive from yours the prize of a book for his

accomplishments as a student. All these things I regard as adding to, and not detracting from, dignity. It is, therefore, a matter of astonishment if any dignitary should look upon it seriously as below his dignity to send his son to a public school".

It was a non-sectarian school; with 103 Muslim students and 72 Hindu students. Medium of instruction was Urdu. The next venture was even better; an English school at Ghazipur— an English High School, where Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu were taught along with English. No Hindu protested against the exclusion of Hindi. Religious education was imparted separately to Hindu and Muslim students. Education of arts and sciences necessary for modern professions was given special attention. For the first time, Syed Ahmed publicly emphasised the importance of the English language. Syed Ahmed's speech on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony reproduced in the preceding pages marks the beginning of a new realisation of the situation as it was developing and is remarkable for its candour, courage and confidence.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Government of India's reply to the representation sub-mitted by Syed Ahmed recommending the creation of a Urdu faculty in Calcutta University or alternatively the establishment of a separate University in the North-West Province came promptly in September (1867). In the reply addressed to Syed Ahmed, the Government appreciated the Scientific Society's past work and its offer to translate University text books into Urdu. It, however, thought that the Society should aim at translating more and more standard works on various subjects so as to build up a storehouse of modern knowledge in Urdu and promised support. This gesture of Government provided quite an incentive to talented men and generated a good deal of public interest. Well known writers came fonvard to undertake translations, prominently among them, were Munshi Zakaullah, Master Pyare Lal, Pundit Dharam Narain etc. This induced the

Government to consider the request of the Association's proposal favourably.

[13],`The Government of India's resolution of 1871 conceded in principle almost everything Syed. Ahmed khan and Abdul latif had been demanding, namely, the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction for Muslims in primary and secondary schools, increased State assistance for exclusive -Muslim educational institutions and the combination of English education with the study of Arabic and Persian. Anglo-Indian friends and their Press lent a helping hand for speedy and effective implementation of the resolution. The Bengali Hindu Press viewed this development with incriminating hostility suspecting it to be a case "inspired by the growing Anglo-Indian jealousy of educated Hindus".

In June 1873, the Government of India under Lord Northbrook, issued another resolution on the subject of Muslim education which reaffirmed in stronger and more definite terms the policy enunciated in the resolution of 1871. Relevant extract is reproduced below:-

> "It is, however, in the higher schools, in the colleges, and in the universities, that the absence or backwardness of Mohammadans has been shown to exist remarkably. The reports, that all agree that our system has not attracted them to the higher ranges of our educational course or to preserve upto the point at which studies impress real culture, and fit young men for success in the services and open profesions...It may be conjectured that, at the present epoch, Mohammedans are discovering that the ancient paths are unprofitable to stand upon while their traditions and natural predilections still hold them back from setting out energetically upon newly opened roads. For, while it is confessed that Mohammedans nowhere appear in satisfactory strength upon the lists of our higher schools, colleges or universities, on the other hand, those Institutions which have purposely preserved the

ancient exclusively Mohammedan type, and which have been restricted to instruction in the languages and sciences which belong peculiarly to Mohammedianism have also been found to be falling gradually but steadily into neglect. We may perhaps assume, therefore, that the Mohammedans are not so much averse to the subjects which the English Government has decided to tcach, as to the modes of machinery through which teaching is offered. And if it thus appears that to the traditions and reasonable hesitation which keep aloof our Mohammedan fellow subjects arc added certain obstacles which our system itself imposes either by using a language that is unfamiliar or machinery that is uncongenial,—it is plain that many of the drawbacks to the universality of our educational system are susceptible of removal'.

To illuminate the veracity of the causes of the backwardness of Muslims. in education table showing factual position is reproduced below:-

MUSLIMS AT SCHOOL, 1871-72

“Table missing”

As early as August 1869, Sir W.W. Hunter wrote a series of three articles in 'Pioneer' of Allahabad. He strongly advised the Government to enable Muslims to compete on equal terms with Hindus for well paid government appoint-

NUMBER OF MUSLIMS GRADUATING DURING

THE 20-YEAR PERIOD

1857 - 1871

“Table missing”

All figures compiled by Syed Ahmed from annual reports of public instructions as evidence before the committee and

ments by providing them with such means of Western e

ducation as would be readily acceptable to them. The three articles were noticed with apparent approval by the Anglo-Indian newspapers and the Bengal Government promptly appointed a Commission to look into the question of Muslim education. The Hon'ble Mr. W.W. Hunter, President of the Commission, held his first meeting in the North-Western Province, at Aligarh, in August 1882. At this time, Syed Ahmed, was a member of the Viceroy's Council for the second time. Syed Ahmed was examined as a witness by the Education Commission.

At a great meeting held in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, (Aug. 1882) in reply to the address of Municipality, the college and of fourteen Societies and public bodies in these Provinces, the President of the Education Commission, Mr. W.W. Hunter, in the course of his speech said:-

[15] "Gentlemen, It is because this college in which we are now assembled forms the greatest and noblest effort ever made in India for the advance-ment of Mohammedan education, that the Commission determined to hold its first session for the North-Western Provinces at Aligarh. We hope that our presence here will be taken as our public tribute of admiration to this splendid example of self-help. A few more such examples of self-help, and there would be no need of Education Commission in India. The other night. I was taken to see the two historical monuments of Aligarh...on our way home, as we passed the Muhammedan College, I could not help thinking what a much nobler memorial of our age is this splendid pile of buildings in which we are now assembled. These solitary relics out on the plain, with their pathetic narrative of ambition, en-

MUSLIMS QUALIFYING AS LAWYERS,

DOCTORS AND ENGINEERS — 1886-87

“Table missing”

All figures compiled by Syed Ahmed from annual reports of public instructions as evidence before the committee and memorials addressed to the education commission.

> durance and gallant effort, form the records of a time when, throughout the length and breadth of India; race hated race and when each man's hand was raised against his neighbour, you, Gentlemen, who have built this college will bequeath a far nobler monument to posterity. You will leave behind you a magnificent memorial not of the discord, but of reconciliation of races: a monument of beneficient energy, not of destructive force; and one which, unlike those poor erections of stone and earth now lie so apart from the interests of the habitations of men; will continue for ever a centre of the highest human efforts, vocal with young voices, and alive with the hopes and aspirations of young hearts."

"Gentlemen, this college at Aligarh, not only provides an education for the Mohemmedans of the North-Western Provinces, but, it stands forth as an example to all India, of a Mohammedan institution which effectively combines the secular with the religious aspects of education; and which, while recognising the special spiritual needs of the Mohammedan youth, bases its teaching on the truths of Western sciences, and is in tone and tendency thoroughly loyal to our Queen"

"This is a noble work to have been done upon earth. And here besides me we see the brave and liberal hearted men, who, by twenty years of patient efforts, has accomplished it. I believe that very shortly after the country had passed to the Crown, when men were still embittered by the bleeding memories of the catastrophe which preceded the transfer it entered into the heart of our friend, the Honourable Syed Ahmed to commence this great work of conciliation. During the first ten years, he bore with many disappointments, and made little visible progress with his self-assigned task. he had to give up some of his own views, to make fresh departures, to submit in silence to indiffernce and disapproval, to the cooling of old friends, and to the injurious babble of ignorant enemies. But he never for a moment lost heart.

Slowly but surely his cause advanced. Men believed in him, for he believed in his work".

"In 1870 a Public Committee was formed, under his auspices for the advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India. The two objects of this Committee were: First, to ascertain the causes which prevented the Mohammedans from adequately availing themselves of the State schools; Second, to provide means by which the Mohammedans might be reconciled to a secular education that would tend to their advancement in life, and render them loyal subjects of their sovereign".

This magnificent pile of buildings, with its staff of learned professors, and its crowded class-roms of boys from every province of India, is the result. Its primary aim was to procure the acceptance of European science and literature as the basis of Mohammedan education. It has accomplished this by scrupulously providing for the religious offices of the pious Mohammedans youth. In going round the college, I was struck by the sight of the Shia and Sunni praying places, side by side. Here, for the first time in history of India the Shia from Hyderabad in the South and the Sunni from Delhi and the farthest lmits of Bengal, come together for common purpose of education, live together, study together, play together and pray peacefully a little apart.

At the same time, the Mohammedan founders of this strictly Mohammedan institution have thrown open their doors to the youth of all races and creeds. Among the 259 students, I find 57 Hindus or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Christian and Parsi lads have also received a liberal education within its walls. The Aligarh College has to import an English principal and at least one European professor, and to pay them at the high rate of European labour current in this country. Yet, it offers an education and school life, modelled on the English Public-school pattern, at about one-tenth of what practically costs an English boy to live at an English Public School. The teaching staff is both numerous and efficient. An English principal and professor of University reputation directs the labours of a body of

eminent Orientalists and teachers, of whom any seat of learning might feel proud. The building itself will, when complete, bear comparison with any educational institution in the world; and in extent and magnificence of proportion, more than rivals the venerable piles of Oxford or Cambridge. How has this great work been accomplished? In the first place, there was one man who placed a noble end before him, and also was willing to spend his life and his substance on its attainment. He has preserved throughout the long years since its commencement, an unshaken belief that the work ought to be done. Belief begets belief. The Honourable Syed Ahmed believed in his work; and the other benefactors of this college, both native and European, have given their subscriptions because they believed in Syed Ahmed. The Government has more tardily, but in the end not munificentlty, sided in the enterprise, because the Government has also found a good cause to believe in Syed Ahmed. This College is a noble example to all India, not only of self-help, but of the power which an unswerving belief in a good cause exercises on the minds of men.

But, Gentlemen, although the work has prospered greatly, much still remains to be done.

Men seek immortality in many ways. Some write books, others climb to high official rank, others seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. But it has always seemed to me that the most enviable fame on earth is that of the founder of a great seat of learning. One of the best remembered incidents in an English Public School boy's life is Founder's Day. It was the great festival of the school-year, when boys and masters held holiday, to celebrate by speeches or dramas, and mainly sports, and hospitality to those from without, and good cheer to those within, the day set apart to honour of the founder of the school. As time rolls on, I hope that this great college will hold a similar festival. I hope that centuries after our generation, with its cares and hopes and ambitions has passed away, the memory of Syed Ahmed will be honoured afresh each year, as a pious founder of the noblest Mohammedan seat of learning which this age has bequeathed to posterity.

The speech of the Honourable Sir W.W. Hunter, president of the Education Commission, the well known author of 'The Indian Musalmans' published in 1871 and who had earned the instant wrath of Syed Ahmed, is indeed, a glow-ing tribute to the life and work of Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College (Aligarh University) (latter raised to the status of University in 1920) and a history of the M.A.O. College in a nut-shell.

SYED AHMED —AS A MEMBER OF THE

EDUCATION COMMISSION —A BRIEF

RESUME OF HIS EVIDENCE

[16] At the time, in 1882, Syed Ahmed was a member of the Viceroy's Council. Originally he had been a member of the Commission but owing to disagreements with the procedures adopted he resigned and in his place, his son, Justice Syed Mahmud was appointed. Syed Ahmed was examined as a witness by the Education Commission. Both Syed Ahmed and his son were members of the Commission. His replies cover 32 printed pages.

VILLAGE SCHOOLS

> "As regards the number of Government schools, he thinks that there is no necessity for an increase, but that the existing institutions were capable of affording instructions to a much larger number of pupils, and that, therefore, every available means should be adopted for improving their efficiency and for making them more useful and popular. He does not think that the present system of inspection adequate."
>
> Syed Ahmed says that he had an opportunity of inspecting many schools when he was a member of the Educational Committee at Aligarh. He has occasionally has reason to doubt the correctness of school register, and found that it was not unusual to enter names of mythical students in them. He

> once set out to inspect a village school which used to send regular reports of its working, and it appeared that a reasonable number of students were reading in it. But on reaching the village he was surprised to find there was no school at all, that the place which was represented as the school building was no other than a shed for buffaloes and that the contents of the registers and reports were altogether fictitious. He was of the opinion that the standard of education fixed for vernacular schools is not popular and certainly not suitable. The standard of literature taught in these schools is hardly sufficient to enable a student to acquire tolerable proficiency in subjects which are of use to him in his after-life. The degree of proficiency required in indigenous schools in this respect far surpasses that afforded by these schools. He thinks that regular study of arithmetic should, in vernacular primary schools, be supplemented by indigenous method (gur), which is more practical. History ought also to be more thoroughly taught. As regrds village schools, he thinks that would be more useful and popular by, first: reforming the courses of study and raising the stndard of literature; and second: by appointing such persos to be teachers as are popular, and possess the confidence of the people; third: by fixing their salaries on a standard sufficient to make them appreciate their appointments; fourth: by securing the co-operation of respectable men in each division of a District in the cause of education. Syed Ahmed was strongly of the opinion that the non-association of respectable natives in the work of education has been a great drawback and a political mistake. This was remedied on Syed Ahmed's representation, many years ago, when native gentlemen were made members of the District Educational Committees.

In .1872, Syed Ahmed, in a note on education, wrote: "Members of the said Committees, when they sit with

Europeans and the Educational authorities in the same room, look more like thieves who have entered a gentleman's house for theft than like hold advocates of an important cause. To remedy existing defects, Syed Ahmed would make the Collector of each District, head of the vernacular institutions within his district: he would abolish the Inspectors and the Deputy Ispectors of schools substituting for the latter a native District Collector in each district as an Assistant to the Collector, the most influential men of the district to be members of the Committee... and the income of these schools, derived from all sources would be at its disposal, the Committee to submit its budget regularly to the Director of public Instruction.

ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Syed Ahmed would not put English schools under these Committees as he thinks that it would be prejudicial to those schools. As regards English education being essential requisite for the interests of the people, Syed Ahmed, in his evidence, said:-

"About thirty years have now elapsed since the despatch of 1854. During this period the condition of India has un-dergone a considerable change. In 1854, when the despatch was written, India was certainly in a condition which might justify our thinking that the acquisition of knowledge through the medium of vernaculars of the country would be enough to meet our immediate wants. But now such is not the case. Vernacular education is no more regarded as sufficient for our daily affairs of life. It is only of use in our private and domestic affairs, and no higher degree of proficiency than what is required in primary and middle vernacuar schools is requisite for that purpose; nor is more wanted by the country and by the people in their daily life. We see that an ordinary shopkeeper who is neither himself acquainted with English nor has any English-knowing person in his employment feels it a serious hindrance in the progress of his business. Even the itinerant pedlars and boxwalas, who go from door to door selling their articles, keenly feel the

necessity of knowing at least the English names of their commodities, and of being able to spell their prices in English. It is high time that the Government as well as the people should exert themselves to their utmost in this popular education if I may be allowed to call it".

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION — OLD VIEW MODIFIED

"In vernacular and English primary and middle schools, the object of which is to impart instruction upto that stand-ard only, and not to prepare scholars for a higher standard of education, the interests of the country will no doubt be furthered by teaching the Western sciences to the standard laid down for those institutions in vernacular. But in English elementary schools which have been established with the object of serving as a stepping-stone for higher education, the tution of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular is calculated to ruin the cause of education. I confess, I am the person who had first entertained the idea that the knowledge of European Sciences through the medium of the vernacular would be more beneficial to the country. I am the person who had found fault with Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835 for exposing the defects of oriental learning, and recommending the study of Western sciences and literature, and had failed to consider whether the introduction of European sciences by means of the vernaculars would bring any advantage to the native community."

"I did not confine my opinin to the theory alone, but tried to put it into practice. I discussed the matter at various meetings, wrote several pamphlets and articles on the subject and sent memorials to local, and supreme Governments. A Society known by the name of: 'The Scientific Society Aligarh', was established for the very purpose, and it translated several scientific and historical works from the English language into the vernacular. But I could not help acknowledging the fallacy of my opinions at least. I was forced to accept the truth what an eminent liberal statesman has said, that" What the Indian of our day wanted, whether he was

Hindu or Mohammedan, was some insight into the literature and science which were the life of his own time, and of the vigorous races which were the representative of all knowledge and all power to him."

"I felt the soundness and sincerity of the policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck when he desired that, :The great object of the Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India."

With reference to the question whether the Government should support primary and secondary education, he said:-

"As my personal opinion on this point is at variance with the public feeling I may be allowed to give a sketch of both the views. I am personally of opinion that the duty of Government, in relation to public instruction, is not to pro-vide education to the people but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves. But the public feeling seems to differ widely from this view. The people base their argument on the fact that in India all matters affectig the public weal have always rested with Government. They see no reason why education of the people, which is also a matter of public weal, should not rest with Government. After a full consideration of the question in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion that the native public cannot obtain suitable education unless the people take the entire management of their education into their own hands, and that it is not possible for Government to adopt a system of education which may answer all purposes and satisfy the special wants of the various sections of the population. It would, therefore, be more beneficial to the country if Government should leave the entire management of their education to the people, and withdraw its own interference. The public opinion is not in favour of this view. A very able and intelligent native gentleman said to me some time ago that the idea that we should ourselves procure our education was an entire mistake; that the use of the word 'ourselves' with reference to the people of India, was out of place for no nation could undertake any great work without the co-opera-tion of all classes, high and low, whether in point of wealth

or political and administrative power. He added that the higher order of political and administrative power in India was held by Government and its European officers, and that those who benefited most by commerce in India were also Europeans; and therefore, they formed in reality the most important section of the indian population.

Apropos of this, I may be allowed to relate an incident which happened to myself. At the time when the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established at Aligarh, I asked a European gentleman some pecuniary aid to the institution. He replied that he was not bound to help us in the matter, that the institution was a child of ours and not his, and that he could rather be inclined to spurn it than to hug it by paternal affection."

Interrogated by his son, Syed Mahmud, as to whether religious prejudices alone have kept Mohammedans aloof from English education, or whether anything in their socio-political traditions has had the same effect, he replied:-

> "It may be briefly stated that the causes which have kept Mohammedans aloof from English education may be traced to four sources: to their political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs and poverty. An insight into the political causes can be obtained by studying the history of the last two centuries. The Mohammedans public was not op-posed to the estblishment of British rule in india, nor did the advent of British rule cause any political discontent among that people. In those days of anarchy and oppression, when the country was in want of a paramount power, the establishment of British supremacy was cordially welcomed by the whole native community; and the Mohammedans also viewed this political change with feelings of satisfaction. But the subordinate political change which this transition naturally involved as a consequence, and which proved a great and unexpected blow to the condition of the Mohammedans, engendered in them a feeling of aversion against the British, and against

> all things relating to the British nation. For the same reason they conceived an aversion for the English language, and for the sciences that were presented to them through the medium of that language. But this aversion is now declining in the same degree in which education is spreading among Mohammedans.
>
> "The Mohammedans were proud of their socio-political position, and their keeping aloof from English education may in some measures be ascribed to the fact that the Government colleges and schools included among their pupils some of those whom the Mohammedans, with an undue pride and unreasonable self-conceit and vanity regarded with social contempt. They could never be brought to admit that sound and useful learning existed in any language except Arabic and Persian. They had given a peculiar form to moral philosophy, and had based it on religious principles, which they believed to be infallible; and this circumstance has dispensed as they thought, with the necessity of European science and literature. I still remember the days when, in respectable families, the study of English, with the object of obtaining a post in Government service or of securing any other lucrative employment, was considered highly discreditable. The prejudice has now, however, much slackened."

"The religious aspect of the question I have already described. The poverty of Mohammedan community is only too obvious to require any comment. I am, however, of opinion that the above mentioned socio-political causes, though still extant, have been mitigated to a considerable extent, and the Mohammedans are gradually freeing them-selves of old prejudices, and taking to the study of English literature and science."

In regard to the absence of sympathy among European officials towards native endeavours for establishing educa-tional institutions, he replied:-

> "I agree in the views of my friend which I have quoted, and have therefore given in my 31st answer an example of what personally happened to me. At the same time, it is my opinion and belief that the Government and its high statesmen cordially desire our welfare and feel sympathy with us. But the majority of those subordinate European officers who have, the administration in the mufassil in their hands, are careless of, and indifferent to, our educa-tion and enlightenment. There arc, no doubt, some of them who got out of their way to show sympathy to us, and take a share in our endeavours by helping us in our work both by money and by other means. Towards such English officers we naturally feel gratitude from the bottom of our hearts. But there are also some European officers, though they are few, who strongly feel that the spread of education and enlightenment among the natives, and especially among the Musalmans, is contrary to political expediency for the British rule. This class of men dislike natives educated in English and regard them with anger and jealousy. Similarly, some officers of the Educationl Department used to view the establishment of independent educational institutions with a jealous eye. But I am thankful to say that, at least in my part of the country, such is not the case at present. I may briefly state that the great majority of the English officers believe that their duty is to do only official work, and that they are not called upon to take any trouble about other matters connected with the needs of the country. They do not come into social relations with natives, and therefore they are seldom able to know the real and inner wants and needs of the native population. Thus, speaking generally, no real sympathy exists

> between European officers and the natives—I mean such sympathy as exists between two friends. I think this very unfortunate, at least for my coutrymen; but I wish to say plainly that the blame does not rest entirely with either the English officers or the natives. I firmly believe that as soon as sincere friendly sympathy is established between Englishmen and natives, schools and even colleges will begin to be established all over the country, and will cost Government no more than the grants-in-aid rules could easily allow. But I am sorry to confess that I do not think that such improvement in this respect can be expected for some years to come".

RECOMMENDATIONS OF EDUCATION COMMISSION

The Commission's recommendations agreeably reflected the views of Syed Ahmed. The Commission recommended Government's withdrawal in favour of local bodies so far as primary education was concerned and in favour of private Indian enterprise in the field of secondary education. It explicitly rejected the claim of the Christian missions that existing institutions be handed over to them. At the same time, it did not favour the closing down of existing Government schools and colleges if pivate Indian enterprise was not forthcoming.

[17] "Thus the Commission's recommendations on the subject of the Agency for Secodary and Higher Education largely satisfied Syed Ahmed's views. The Government went even further in rejecting the Commission's guarded recommendation to hand over the existing schools and colleges to private Indian enterprise subject to certain conditions; for if it had done otherwise, there would not have been much left to be done by the Provincial Education Department and the indian Education Service, both of which were the Chief new organisations recommended by the Commission. At the same time, private Indian enterprise was given a fairer chance to play a part in the sphere of English education because the

Government acted on the Commission's recommendations to the extent that it restricted the opening of new Government schools and colleges wherever private Indian enterprise was forthcoming. The Christian missions got their chance too but without being accorded any position of advantage".

SYED AHMED'S NEW PERCEPTIONS—HIS BELIEF

Syed Ahmed ardently believed that spread of education is the only means for the promotion of national cause. Conveying his impressions of his visit to England in 1869, during his voyage to England he observed for the first time the mode of conversation between ships through the medium of Semaphore (signalling by flags) and entering hour-to-hour events in the ship's signal book. He says:-

> "There is a locked signal book kept on board, in which everything necessary to work the ship is entered in the most simple manner possible—so much so, that even men who cannot read well can understand and do their work. This is entirely owing to the fact that all the arts and siences arc treated off in the language that they know. If all the arts and sienccs were not given in English, but in Latin, Greek, Persian or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance as, I am sorry to say, the masses of Hindustan arc buried. Until we assimilate these arts and sciences into our own language, we shall remain in this wretched state".

He held this conviction in his early - career as an educationist and for the fulfilment of this purpose, he founded the 'Scientific Society' in 1864 and did a lot of pioneering work and the Society translated many standard works from English into Urdu. But, at a latter stage, in view of the conditions prevailing and challenges posing the Muslim community, he became convinced that without a

knowledge of English and other European languages, Mus-lims cannot make any progress in education. But still believed that no nation could make progress unless it learned sciences and arts through the mother tongue. The conditions have not changed much even after a lapse of a hundred years; owing to the poverty of our national language, Urdu, which is entirely due to the indolence of our writers and intellectuals, we have failed to keep pace and with the times because we failed to enrich our language.

Syed Ahmed says:-

> "After a deep thought I came to the conclusion that their (Muslims) worldly and religious reform is im-possible without their receiving education in all these modern sciences in which other nations take pride and this education should be imparted to them through that language (English) which is now ruling over us by the will of God". Again, on another occasion, he says: "We should not remain content with the education of the Indian universities. Rather we should travel abroad and for receiving higher educ tion, we should go to Oxford and Cambridge and drink at their fountain".

URDU-HINDI: SCRIPT: NAGRI OR PERSIAN

The Charter Act of 1833 finally closed down the Company's commercial business, converting it purely into an Agent of the British Crown to govern and administrate the Crown's possessions in India. Clause 87 of the Act threw open to Indians all offices under the Company and, since the Company's administration was carried on in English, it was found imperative for the natives to learn English language if they were to qualify for these offices. This created the need for education in English. Viceroy, Lord Bentinck (1828-35) ordered substitution of English for Persian as the language of the higher Courts and of administration. A Committee of Public Instruction was appointed with Lord

Macaulay as its President. It was resolved by the Viceroy in 1835 that, "the great objective of the English Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India" and that all funds appropriated for education should be best employed on English education alone." Nearly after a lapse of fifty years of the introduction of English a new class of youth and intelligentsia began rising in Bengal particularly which was trained in the political philosophy of Mill, Burke and Karl Marx. They had begun to demand that administration in India should bear some relation to what was being advocated in England by political thinkers and parliamentarians. This startled many Englishmen and they began to have second thoughts about the advisability of teaching English language and Western sciences. Keeping in line with the new thinking the British administrators began to urge that the education of Indians on the basis of their old earstwhile system of Shastras and Sadi and Hafiz could ensure less trouble. The British administrators were already restive and regretting the promotion of Western education and the teaching of English.

In May 1868, Mr. Thornton, Secretary to the Government of Punjab, submitted a proposal to the Government of India for the establishment of a university in Lahore for the promotion of the study of Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian and to diffuse Western knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars i.e. Hindi and Urdu. The proposal was recom-mended by the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Sir Donald McLeod and seven high ranking British officers and had the support of Anjuman-i-Punjab. The proposal was accepted by the Government of India.

An identical proposal submitted earlier in August 1867 by Syed Ahmed from the forum of the British India Association had been turned down by the Government promptly in September 1867. Syed Ahmed was piqued but, vigilant and well informed as he was, saw through the game. he saw in it a conspiracy to deny Indians the benefit of modern education. By implication, the new proposal accepted by the Government of India had the effect of driving a wedge between the Muslims and the Hindus on the vital issue of language and

script. A demand was raised in the local press (of Punjab) that should a vernacular university be established in Northern India, Hindi rather than Urdu should be employed as the medium of instruction for the Hindus. The demand of Hindu press was unreasoable. Ever since the annexation of Punjab to Ghaznavid kingdom in 1005 Persian had been the ruling language in Punjab, even under Maharaja Ranjit Singh — right upto the annexation of Punjab to British India in 1849. Punjabi was the spoken language, the Sikhs called it Gurumukhi—written in the Gurumukhi script and not Devnagri. The language of administration and literature had been Persian. Besides, Muslims constituted 53% of the population of Punjab at that time. When the British took over in 1845, Urdu was adopted as the official language. But the Bengali Hindus who penetrated into the British administration at every conceivable level at that time, advocated the cause of Hindi as a substitute to Urdu: Babu Navin Chander had already ensured the supremacy of Hindi in Nagri script as against Urdu in Persian script advocated by Syed Ahmed.

Hindu members of the Scientific Society had begun to demand that its proceedings should be in Dev Nagri script. A predominant Bengali organisation, the Allahabad Institute, started a campaign to get Hindi recognized as the language of the Courts. Some prominent Hindus of Benares decided to try to replace Urdu written in Persian script with Hindi written in Devnagri script as the language of the Courts. Even his life-long friend, Raja Jai Kishan Das—one of the four Hindu signatories to the Memorium submitted by the British India Association—could not subscribe to Syed Ahmed's views on the issue of language and script. The situation demanded that a very large number of scientific works to be translated into Urdu and Hindi—the task being too colossal and practically impossible to fulfil the satisfaction of the exponents of Hindi. Syed Ahmed had perforce to abandon his commitment to the vernacular university in the then prevailing conditions. The scheme of oriental University was not immediately approved and did not surface until 1881 when Lord Lytton revived the idea of oriental

University and delivered speeches in Punjab. It had been stated that a sum of Rupees fifty thousand donated by the chiefs and princes of Punjab for raising the status of Punjab University College to the status of a university was intended to be diverted to the promotion of education through orien-tal languages. By that time, Syed Ahmed had modified his views on the role of vernaculars as medium of instruction. He had fully explained the evolution of his idea in his deposition before the Education Commission cited in the preceding pages. At that appropriate time in 1882 Syed Ahmed stood up in his characteristic style and wrote a series of three articles which completely demolished the arguments of the Government and decidedly foiled the attempts of the Government to reverse the clock of progress. The articles arc reproduced in the following pages. However, at that crucial hour in 1867, Syed Ahmed fully respected the Hindu sentiments and susceptibilities and appreciated their aspirations for their cultural revival. While arguing his case for Urdu in Persian script he took care not to injure their feelings. This marks a new turn in his outlook. Soon, he left for England in April 1869.

The new education policy begun in 1835 led to the foundation of the first three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. Calcutta university ruled supreme in Northern India for full 25 years until the establishment of Punjab University in 1882. English education had made its first appearance in Delhi in 1827. In the context of the historical socio-cultural and political environment under which Muslims and Hindus—the two major communities—co-existed found themselves moving away from each other on the issue of language and script; Urdu in Persian script was a natural evolution of Indo-Muslim culture because of the close cultural affinity between the two. In the sphere of administration adoption of Urdu in Persian script was eminently suited in place of Persian which had been the language of Courts, administration and medium of instruction almost since 1025 AD right upto the time of the English take-over after the downfall of Sikh rule in 1849. With the downfall of the Mughal Empire the Hindus started espousing the cause of

Hindi written in Devnagri script which is steeped in Sanskrit —the very soul of Hindu religion, tradition and culture, represented as an indelible symbol of the cultural renaissance of Hindus. For the Muslims, discarding Persian script for Urdu language which was in harmony with Muslim culture and bore the imprint of Arabic and Persian and its cultural heritage so assiduously cultivated for nearly 800 years could deculturise Muslims in a matter of few generations and lead to their being totally submerged in the Hindu society. In the sphere of politics, Hindi and Urdu came to be the symbols of national assertion—Hindu and Muslim as separate nations in preferece to one Indian nation. The role of Urdu was jealously guarded by the Muslims and symbolised the cultural unity of the Muslims and their national aspirations.

THE PROPOSED "PUNJAB ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY CONDEMNED"

In 1881 Lord Lytton delivered some speeches in Punjab in support of the 'Revival of Oriental Studies at the expense of modern education and it was proposed to organise Punjab University as a vernacular or Oriental University. Syed Ahmed was quick to perceive the conspiracy to undermine progress achieved in the field of education, and which is so. closely tied up with modern education and hopes and aspirations and progress of the indian people. He wrote a series of three articles which completely demolished the arguments of the Government and decidedly foiled the attempts to reverse the clock of progress: His outright condemnation of the proposal saved the existing three universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras from going 'Oriental'. The articles were published in `Pioneer' Allahabad. Some excerpts are reproduced below:-

1.ORIENTAL SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

[18]"The speeches made by His Excellency Lord Lytton at some places in the Punjab which smelt of an inclination to

encourage oriental languages and we have recently read with similar regret the addresses presented to His Excellency the Marquis of Ripon in the Punjab and his replies to them in which it had been stated that a sum of rupees fifty thousand that had been donated by the Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab was intended for the promotion of education through oriental languages, which, in the opinion of the Senate, was the best method of adopting education to the real needs of the country. Lord Ripon had endorsed the opinion. We heartily agree with the views expressed by the Court of Directors, "In their famous despatch of 1854 that the best medium for imparting instruction is the vernacular; but this can be true only of education at the village and primary School level; it cannot be true of higher education or of univrersity education, which culminates in the acquisition of Bachelor's and Master's degrees. If it is the intention of the Punjab University to promote or propagate oriental learning by adopting the vernacular as the medium of instruction in the later type of education, then, we think that, instead of gaining more light, we are going to get lost in the greater darkness than ever and that, instead of making progress, we shall be retrogressing so much that we shall need another Macaulay to guide us out forward. We may as plainly as Lord Macaulay did that it would be self-deception to adopt such a policy.

Everybody in the Punjab is talking about the advancement of oriental learning; but we do not know exactly what oriental learning means. It certainly does not include theology, and that is outside the scope of our discussion. So we ask those who cry for 'the advancement of oriental learning' what branches of knowledge the expression refers to. Does it refer to Sanskrit or to Arabic and Persian? We acknowledge that these languages arc fine languages; but the mere learning of a language cannot be called acquisition of knowledge. Of course, you can call the study of literature by that name.

Let us consider the promotion of the study of Arabic and Persian literature, leaving Sanskrit aside, because we know nothing about it. Arabic and Persian literature is full of puerilities,— amorous themes, indecent talcs, false praises of

kings and notables and exercises in rhymed writing with fine "words but no meaning". It can produce no good effect on a man's heart and morals. It stimulates no natural faculty of his. Its readers know from the very start that it is all lies, exaggeration, poetic trickery and literary artifice. So it leaves him cold. So packed is this literature with hyperbolic lies that the reader is at a loss to know what are the real facts in any given narrative. There exist hundreds of Arabic and Persian books which tell of kings, writers and poets and lovers. They contain fulsome praises of their good qualities and graces. But I challenge any one of them tell me that the kings, writers and poets were really like and what kind of face, figure, character and charms a lover's beloved had. There is not a natural quality to be found in them which could impress the reader. Propagating literature of this kind is not doing any favour to us, but pushing us deeper into the darkness in which we have been groping for centuries."

"We now leave alone the subject of literature for fear that somebody may expurgate half or a third of Saadi's Gulistan or Bostan, which consists of buffoonery and present the rest to us as a specimen of oriental learning. The chief branches of oriental learning are Philosophy, Logic, Astronomy, Chemistry, Minerology, Botony, Zoology, Mechanics, Arithmetic, Algebra and History. "Europe', Syed Ahmed said,"had developed these sciences to such an extent that it would be sheer folly for the Indians to be content with studying their old and outmoded books on them, which, in any case, were not numerous. "Some years ago", he continued: "thinking people among us were convinced that the Government did not really want to educate us beyond the point upto which it could utilise our services as beasts of burden or as robots capable of writing English without understanding it. Then the minds of Indians were disabused of this idea by the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Universities. Of late, however, there had been signs of a reversion to the old reactionary policy. One of these was a provision in the Rules for Recruitment to the Civil Service: which dispensed with a University degree. Another was a proposal to establish a purely Oriental University in Punjab. We are not opposed

to the establishment in the Punjab of a University on the model of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but are opposed to the type of University that is proposed."

"Whoever reflects on the question with patriotic feelings and farsightedness will reach the conclusion that the progress of India, whether educational or moral, depends entirely on the propagation of a higher degree of proficiency in Western learning. If we really desire to progress, it is our duty to acquire Western learning even at the cost of forget-ting our mother tongue and throwing overboard all oriental learning. Let one of the higher European languages such as English or French, become our national language. Let the advanced sciences and arts of Europe become our hand-maidens in our daily lives."

We certainly approve of the Punjab University's promoting the learning of ancient languages; for ancient languages are an ornament to modern languages. But we do not under-stand what the promotion of oriental Arts and Sciences means, nor do we think it is practicable for Western arts and sciences to be taught upto the standard of higher education through the medium of the vernacular.

THE VERNACULAR OR OUR LANGUAGE

"It is very old idea that it would be most useful for us and for the progress of the country if our education was through the medium of our language. Before Macaulay the East India Company acted by and large on this idea. A Society was formed in Calcutta for translating books, and many books were translated of which no trace is available to-day. Then a lot of energy was expended on this at the Delhi college and a lot of money was spent on getting translations of books made and published. If these publications arc available anywhere now, they can be had for the price of waste paper. After that the founders of the 'Scientific Society. Aligarh' thought this to he an important task; in fact, they formed the Society with that as their main objective. They in their own turn failed. The objective avoxed by The Punjab University College is nothing new; it

is an old project, tried long ago and abandoned as useless. The vernacular books published by the Directors of Public Instruction, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Pun-jab, and by the University College, Lahore, are in use only in the Government Schools, where they are taught compul-sorily. Outside these schools, they have little value."

What is often advanced as the most useful argument in favour of making the vernacular the medium of Instruction is that there is no country in the world which attained to honour, wealth, prosperity and power without developing its native language and its indigenous arts and sciences. This and similar arguments have been advanced times without number in articles, proceedings, and discussions published in the 'Scientific Society Magazine'. So far as indigenous arts and sciences are concerned, we do not understand the meaning of the expression (in the Indian context) but we admit, and have done so many times before, that the countries which have achieved a degree of progress owe it to the fact that their arts and sciences are all in their own languages. But there is a lot of difference between these countries and India. Each of them is one nation and has one 'national language, but India is not ruled by Indians, nor is its language the language of its rulers. There is not a single instance of 'a country where the rulers and the ruled speak different languages and think differently and which have nevertheless attained honour, wealth and prosperity and power by promoting their indigenous arts and sciences (whatever that may mean) and their native culture...Our own country, India, provides enough proof of this. After a foreign people, namely the Muslims, had conquered India, only those of the native inhabitants came into prominance and participated in the tasks .of government who learned the arts and sciences and language of the Muslims, acquired their culture, adopted their manners and emulated'mulated thcir enlightenment. Engandering in India the idea that we can attain honour, wealth, prosperity and power only by promoting oriental arts and sciences, the native language and arts and sciences (which we do not know of) is exactly like telling the inhabitants of America that they can attain honour,

wealth and prosperity and power by promoting their native language and their indigenous arts and sciences (whatever these may be).

National progress and self rule are real sisters. When a people lose its independence, its progress thenceforward depends entirely upon its learning the arts and sciences of its ruler and participating in the tasks of government along with him.

The Government has still kept open the door to the entry of Indians into the Civil Service, no matter what hurdles exist. There is no obstacles in the way of our qualifying as barristers, doctors and engineers. Leave aside the Indian Civil Service, for which, owing to our misfortune, it has not been considered necessary to have higher educational qualifications; but we have not given up hope of attaining High Court Judgeships. Nor has the entry of Indians to the Council been barred as yet. We should carefully consider what we ought to do to secure these rights legitimately. Do we need a university which will only revive dead oriental arts and sciences? Do we need schemes for making available to us again our old civilization?

OUR LANGUAGE AND OUR HIGHER EDUCATION

The Benares College (founded 1793) has expended a lot of effort on promoting the learning of Sanskrit...but it has not been able to produce a single scholar knowing as much Sanskrit as those Pundits who, clad in Dhoti and kamri and seated on the steps of Mankana and Shivala Ghat. Learn Sanskrit as a sacred language. What has this education added to the country except a few more mendicants pundits in Benares? As regards University College, Lahore, (founded in 1870) we do know what learning it has so far imparted to the students from Bulkh and Badakshan; but we know this that it has not yet produced one scholar knowing as much Arabic or Persian as those who learn these languages sitting on bare platform of mosques and in the dark and

dingy rooms of holy shrines and subsisting on food earned by reciting Darud and Fatheha. It has only added a few less well-read people to the numbers of these holy beggars...

Tell us truthfully what good are these people whom the University. College has granted entrance, proficiency and high proficiency certificates. What benefit has accrued or can accrue in the future from them to the country, to the people, to the wealth of the country, to its government, to its trade, to its moials, to its enlightenment, to its liberal thinking. But if you say that the whole idea was that no such benefit should accrue, then we admit, that the College has been very useful.

We tauntingly reminded that it was we who founded the Scientific Society on this principle. But there is a world of difference between then and now. At that time English learning was not needed or rather was not valued. The language of all the Courts was the vernacular. For securing even the highest posts a little oriental learning was enough. The Indians could not even imagine that they could ever secure the posts then filled by well educated young men or experienced officials belonging to the conquering race. There were millions of Indians who had not even seen the railways and telegraphs, and the ideas about trade and development now current were unknown. Nobody knew anything about sea voyages except Haj pilgrims travelling in extremely poor conditions and, with a greater likelihood of getting drowned than reaching their destinations..The change that has taken place since is not a minor one. It is one which is clearly visible, not only to the educated but even to the common people. Let us, by way of illustration, speak of the Sadr Adalat before it became a High Court. The lawyers who used to practice were accomplished scholars of oriental arts and sciences and languages, and they were enviably success-ful. They were no merely so-called Maulvi-Alims and Maul-vi-Fazils, but people with attainments in oriental learning and languages so high that the Punjab University cannot hope to produce even half as able. Suddenly, in 1866, the Sadr Adalat became a High Court, and the reign of European learning and European language was inaugurated.

Those fruit-laden trees of oriental languages, whose tops touched the sky, withered and fell to the ground like tender saplings struck by a cold wind. Go now to the High Court and see for yourselves the wretched condition of these oriental scholars; they can do no good to themselves nor to the country.

Now that in the course of nineteen or twenty years things have changed so much. It is not for a man who genuinely desires the welfare and progress of his country and his people to try to bring past time back, even if he could accomplish this impossible task.

A body known as 'The Punjabi Anjuman' had in its newspaper expressed the view that it was unwise to let young Indians to go to England for further studies. The time has now passed for us to contain ourselves with the Calcutta University's examinations and degrees. It is our duty to consider the degrees of Indian universities merely as a door to the completion of our education at Cambridge or Oxford.

As we have already said, the Punjab University, no matter on what principles, right or wrong, cannot do us much harm, as there is need for us to attack it. Our fears arc aroused when we find those into whose hands God has entrusted the destiny of our country inclined towards the revival of dad oriental arts and sciences and oriental languages. It is that which makes it necessary and, in fact, a patriotic duty for us to point out that pursuing this would do no good to anybody—ourselves, the country or the Government.

Finally, the Government dropped for good the proposal of Oriental University. Punjab university College, set up in January 1870, was raised to the level of University in 1882 on the same model of the three existing universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

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10. M. Hadi Hussain: `Syed Ahmed Khan — Pioneer of Muslim Resurgence.'

11. Major General G.F.I. Graham: The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan'

12. I Iafeez Malik: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Muslim Modernsation — India'

13. Latif Ahmed Sherwani — 'Paktstan in the Making — Documents and Reading'

14. Ibid —

15. Major General G.F.I. Graham: The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan'

16. Ibid

17. M. Iladi Hussain: 'Sir Syed Ahmed Khan —Pioneer of Muslim Resurgence.'

18. Ibid

Chapter 3

VISIT TO ENGLAND

Syed Mahmud, the second son of Syed Ahmed Khan, obtained in the year 1869 first of the nine scholarships instituted by the Government of India to be given to Indian youth for higher studies in England. His eldest son, Syed Hamid, was a District Superintendent of Police in the same province. It was a Godsent boon to Syed Ahmed Khan who had been longing to visit England for some time past to collect source material for his projected work on the Life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in English. Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant Governor of the North West province, had published a monumental work in four volumes in 1861 under the title of 'The Life of Mahomet' which contained numerous misrepresentations based on tendentious use of unreliable Arabic sources subtly seeking to undermine the faith of the upcoming Western and English educated youth. Syed Ahmed Khan, a devout Muslim as he was, felt deeply hurt in conscience and resolved to write an authentic biography of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) refuting the strongly biased and incorrect views of Sir William Muir. Therefore, Syed Ahmed Khan decided to accompany his son to England. Syed Ahmed Khan was not a rich man and he

could ill-afford the expenses of travel to England. To raise money for his journey, he sold his library and mortgaged his ancestral home.

He took along with him his eldest son, Syed Hamid, his literary secretary Mirza, Khudadad Beg, and his personal servant, Chajju. He took with him all the requisite material he would need for refutation and correction of Muir's views. Another main purpose of his visit to England was to study the system of university education in England so that he could get some ideas for the establishment of a 'Muslim University' in the North West provinces. From England he wrote to his friend, Mandi (Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk) describ-ing lucidly his experiences during his journey to Calcutta and onward voyage to England, about places and people and person he met. His first letter dated 29-4-1870 to his friend, Mandi, is reproduced below for it is very interesting, infor-mative and educative. He wrote:

> [1] "On the 1st April, 1869, I left Benaras with my two sons and Chajju, my servant. On the 2nd we remained at Allahabad, having an interview there with Sir William Muir and bidding farewell to numerous friends and well wishers. We left by the night train for Jubbulpore, arriving there the next day, and put up at Mr. Palmer's hotel. On asking for a dak (the railway was not finished then) to Nagpur, I found to my horror that I ought to have booked one long beforehand, and that not a single dak was available for seventeen days. How in all the world were we to arrive in Bombay by the 9th of the day on which our steamer was to sail? By Mr. Palmer's advice, I hired bullocks and a carriage from Messrs Howard & Co, and we got off at 8 p.m. on the 3rd. For three days and three nights we travelled without stopping, except for food, the stages for the bullocks being every five miles apart. At Damoh we found the Dak bungalow full of gentlemen and ladies, so remained under a tree, sent for milk sweetener with sugar, got a fowl, which

Chajju cooked and some chapaties and enjoyed our meal extremely".

"Going from Jubbulpore to Nagpur, the traveller passes through three Districts,—viz Seonee, Dewal-pur and Kampti. The road is an excellent one but passes through many ravines and over rivers, and in some places the bullocks had difficulty in pulling us up; and had to be supplemented by additional ones. On our arrival at Nagpur we went to the railway station, which we found crammed with Englishmen, women and children. We fortunately got a couple of small rooms in a godown and were glad to rest ourselves after the fatigue of the road. Never having come south of Allahabad. I was struck by the dif-ference in the aspect of the country, particularly the black cotton soil, so different from that of tilt North-West provinces, and the frequent range of hills".

"On the 7th, at 9 A.M. we left Nagpur by train and reached Bombay at mid-day on the 8th. I was great-ly struck with the wonderful engineering works on the ghats— the tunnels especially seeming to me to be rather the works of titans than of men. At Bombay, we stayed at Bycullah Hotel and at 6 P.M. on the 10th the Peninsular & Oriental steamship `Baroda' steamed out of the harbour".

Extracts from the letter which had been published in the `Aligarh Institute Gazette' reproduced above provides details about the journey from Allahabad to Calcutta in those good old days. Syed Ahmed kept on sending letters to his friend which were published in Aligarh Institute Gazette up to 11th March 1870 and were later published in a book form under the title: 'Travel Journal of Visitors to London' in English and `Safarnama' in Urdu. During the entire period of his seventeen months stay in England he kept his friends and readers well informed about his observations of places, people and society, social, educational and political institu-

tions of England and about his day-to-day activities. He describes his voyage, the people he met on the ship, of the people of ,.all'-sorts—Egyptians, Turks, the Frenchmen etc. Syed Ahmed writes:

> (1) "One great pleasure to me on board the 'Poona' was meeting M. de Lesseps, who, as all the world knows, is the maker of the Suez canal, and who, although many of the first engineers of the age asserted the impossibility of its being made, stuck to his firm belief in its cpnstructibility, and said he would do it himself. He id1d,it and has now united two oceans. M. de Lesseps was with the Prince of Wales on His Royal Highness's visit to the canal and came with Suez in the `Poona' to see it. It was the second day of our voyage that I had heard about him. He does not know English; but the Captain who knows French, introduced me to him and M. de Lesseps was most kind to me and shook me warmly by the hand. I was delighted to find that he spoke a little Arabic and conversed with him to some extent in that language. From that day he always met me for hours daily at the same table. One day he told, before a lot of people, the story of the Suez Canal, and mentioned that several old traces of the time of Moses were found in its neighbourhood. He told me that when I returned from England, he hoped the vessel that I would be in would pass through the Suez canal, as he thought that six months would not elapse before it was open to vessels of all sizes. It was a very great pleasure and honour to me to meet a man whose determination and pluck were equal to his science, and who has not his equal in the whole world. The day before reaching Marseilles, all the Englishmen in the ship agreed to present M. de Lesseps with an ad-dress, congratulating him on his success with the canal; and the address was presented to him after dinner on the 28th April. Captain Mcthvcn, first of all, made a long speech, then Mr. Ouslcy, then

> General Japp, then Mr. Bretlett, then Mr. Saunders and then the address signed by all the passengers on board was presented. He stood up to receive it, and made a lengthy speech of thanks in French. Then best parts of the speeches which are worth remembering are: "it is undoubtedly but proper that the great canal, instead of being called the Suez, should he known as" "The Lesseps Canal". I perfectly agree with him that a man like him should have every possible honour—and honour, especially, which hand his name down to posterity—shown him, in the course of his speech. M. de Lessepps said that, "I shall feel more grateful and honoured if, instead of the canal being called by my name, it be called by that of 'France'. When I was told by a friend of this, my heart was filled with gladness and I applauded the generosity of the brave man who desired his country's fame rather than his own pleasure and honour. I lamented the degeneracy of my own race, who are, as a rule, steeped in envy and all uncharitableness, and saw only too plainly that by such bad habits they are dishonoured and unfortunate. It must be noted here that in Egypt the canal is known from the highest to the lowest as the `French Canal'. This great work of the French constitutes a new epoch."

The episode as the one quoted above from his letters is so very illuminating, informative, thought-provoking and inspiring and arc numerous which he narrated to his friend, Mahdi Ali, in his letters. Syed Ahmed maintained a diary of his experiences, observations and thoughts and sentiments and all about his activities in England during his seventeen months stay. The record up to 11th March 1870 was published in instalments in the 'Scientific Society' magazine and later in `Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq'. Syed Ahmed was enthusiastic and eager to share his excitement and experiences in the new world that was England and should have evoked great interest but, unfortunately, it was accorded hostile reception. In utter disgust, Syed Ahmed discontinued further publica-

tion. Syed Ahmed Khan was the only Muslim to visit England and his visit, indeed, made history. The only other Muslim to visit England was Syed Ameer Ali who had sailed to England earlier in December 1868, incidentally, being one of the nine recipients of scholarship along with Syed mahmud to receive higher education in England. It was really unfortunate that Syed Ahmed's letters from England did not evoke that much interest they should have but surely, the impact of the letters and articles published must have acted as an elixir on the young minds who had read the letters and articles. M. Mahdi Hussain, in his book `Syed Ahmed Khan' writes:

> [2] "The Travel Journal is an embellished narrative of the experiences and observations of a man with an inquisitive and receptive mind, eager to learn and understand. It is also a forthright expression of the thoughts and feelings of a man whose ruling passion was to make his people march abreast of the times, both morally and materially. Syed Ahmed looked at everything with a student's fresh eyes, had a dedi-cated teacher's mind, converting everything learnt into a lesson to be imparted. Some of his lessons could well be repeated, with minor verbal amend-ments by a Muslim reformer of today."

Some of his experiences en-route to England giving vivid portrayals and description of people and places are reproduced below:

> "There are many races in Aden, but Arabs and Egyptians preponderate the Somalis are most numerous, but I have not been able to find out what race they are. They speak Arabic, but so badly that I could only understand four or five words. They also did not understand my Arabic as well. I was greatly delighted to hear these Somalis talking a little Urdu, which they know sufficient or to make it easy for a Hindustani to get all necessary work

done. The Somalis are also pretty well up in French— knowing the former, however, better than the latter. There are several masjids here, the largest being the 'Idris', the `Jumma' being the largest convent. On leaving our mosque where we had eaten, I saw a 'Hindu to whom I spoke, and found that he was a Marwari from Bombay, and was then a merchant at Aden. He had been here for a long time, having, however, constantly visited Bombay. He told me that there were three Hindu temples at Aden, those of Mahadeo, Hanuman and another...all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place. I was delighted to find that Hindus could come so far across the ocean in steamers without losing their caste. God grant that the Hindus of my part of India will soon take this to heart. All the inhabitants, shop keepers and others, were very dirty, the Somalis being just like savages. The English certainly are the cleanest of nations although some of their customs are open to cavil."

(3) "Although the Cantonment at Aden is a small one — only, I believe having some 300 to 400 English and native soldiers—there is apparently a vast amount of artillery. The Cantonment is well and prettily laid out, and is situated inside a fortress. The bazars are all near at hand. The so-called fort is really a hill; hills are all round, and the Cantonment is in the valley within. The entrance road was made by the English cutting through a hill. Ten determined men could hold it against an army. Owing to the hills being well fortified, Aden is practically impregnable. The sight of it filled my heart with a sense of British power. It is the outlying sentry on the road to India, and the key to the Red Sea. If trouble were to break out in India, any amount of munitions of war could be poured into it in six days. If a quarrel broke out with the Egyptian

Government, or the French made an attack on that country, an expedition could soon reach Egypt from Aden with food and arms for 50,000 men. I say that it is the key of the Red Sea, because the present force in it is sufficient, if necessary to prevent a single vessel getting into or out of the Red Sea. It was formerly under the Turks, and was, I think, taken by the English about thirty years ago. Its affairs are now under the Government of India. I am told that, prior to the advent of the English, it was in a wretched state, with only one miserable Somali village on the hills, which is still to be seen, I believe. The Turkish wall was built after the arrival of the English, to separate their fortifications from the soil of Turkey. It is very high and strong, and is defended by guns and Europeans. In it is a gate through which people go to and from—all incomers, however, having to deposit any arms they may be carrying before being allowed to enter. I am sorry that 1 was- unable to visit it. On the beach is a machine which changes sea-water into good drinking-water, used by the residents. We were greatly amused by Somali boys swimming and diving round the ship like frogs, and calling for bucksheesh. Any coin thrown into the sea is at once dived after and brought by them. I counted twenty-one boys in the water, all of them remaining from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. never getting out.

(4) "We got out at Dover, and travelling by rail, we reached Charing. Cross at 7 P.M. From Paris to Calais the country was not so vine-cultivated as between Marseiles and Paris. High mountains were frequent, very much longer than we passed through on the Bombay line. Pumps worked by windmill were numerous, and they are no doubt valuable and cheap, and would be well adopted for Hindustan.

Syed Ahmed and his little party arrived in London on 4th May 1869. A letter dated 15th Oct 1869 written by Syed Ahmed to the Secretary of the Scientific Society at Aligarh, which appeared in Urdu in Aligarh Institute Gazette is reproduced below:-

> [5] "I have received your esteemed letter of the 9th ultimo, and I regret that you should have been put out by the non-arrival of more letters from me, describing my travels. It is nearly six months since I arrived in London, and have been unable to see many things I should have liked, been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of Lords and Dukes at dinners and evening parties. Artisans and the common working-man I have seen in num-bers. I have visited famous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding estab-lishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraphic com-panies which connect continents, vessels of war (in one of which I walked for miles, the Great Eastern Steamship), have been present at the meetings of several societies and have dined at Clubs and private houses. The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they arc not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with .the English in education, manners and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal to an able and handsome man. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in, and what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I

maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they . are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception. What I have seen and seen daily, beyond imagination of a native of India. If anyone of my countrymen do not believe what I say, you may certainly put them down as frogs and fishes. There was once a living fish that fell from a fisherman into a well in which there were a number of frogs. When they saw a new traveller, white in colour, they behaved very kindly to him and asked where he came from. The fish said that he was a native of the Ganges. The frogs asked the fish if his watery country was similar to theirs; to which the fish replied in the affirmative, adding that it was a bright good country, swept by a fine wind, which raised waves in which fishes were rocked, as in a swing, and deported themselves, and that it was very broad and long. On hearing this a frog came out a foot from the side of the wall, and said,"What; as long and as broad as the distance I have come from the wall? "The fish said,"Much greater." The frog came another foot out, and again put this question to the fish, which said, "Much greater". The frog went on, getting the same answer the further he went until he got to the opposite side of the wall. Again asking his question, the fish gave the same reply. The frog said, "You lie; it cannot he larger than this."Just at this moment a man let down a bucket and drew water, thus causing small waves on the surface. The frog asked the fish if his country's waves were as large, on which the fish laughed, saying, those things that you have never seen, which it is impossible for you to imagine, cannot be thought of by you without seeing. Why, therefore do you ask about them?." I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialities of our respective countries, we and the English differ. I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workman-ship, accomplishments and thoroughness which are

> the results of education and civilization. All good things, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the British carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excel-lence. If Hindustanis could only attain to civilization, it will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become if not the superior, at least the equal of England..."

"Until the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is impossible for a native to become civilized and honoured".

"The causes of England's civilization is that all the arts and sciences arc in the language of the country. Although in some part of England dialects are such as to make it difficult to understand their English, still, on the whole English in England corresponds to the Urdu of the North West Provinces and Bihar, which every one understands. Those who are really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by l wing the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language".

"I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations. If they be not translated, India can never be civilized. This is the truth, this is the truth, this is the truth. Government has a difficult task when the governing tongue is not that of the country, the people do not care to study their own language, because up to the present no one studies for the sake of science, but only to get service. U well wishers of Hindustan, do not place your dependencL on any one! Spread abroad, relying on yourselves and your subscriptions, translation of the arts and sciences; and when you have mustered these and attained to civilization, you will think

very little on going into government service. I hope and trust that such a day may soon come".

"I am delighted to hear that the Lieutenant Governor, North West Provinces and the Director of Public Instructions, North West Provinces have given our society great assistance; and I have thanked God for it. But My dear Raja (Raja Jai Kishan Das, Syed Ahmed's life long- friend) do not part with the freedom of your society and its paper. The life and death of India depend on the goodness or otherwise of the Department of Public Instructions. Always reflect on this deeply but with a just mind, and make truth and the national welfare—your only friend".

LIFE IN LONDON

(6) "When I arrived in London we stayed for three or four days at the Charing Cross Hotel, as I had not enough money to take a house and furnish it. I therefore was compelled to rent one, or rather a portion of one, in which beds, bedding etc are provided by the owner of the house, who is called the 'Landlord', his wife being called the 'Landlady'. They also provide food and servants, and the bills are sent in weekly. We found living like this ex-tremely comfortable. From this you will conclude that those who let out a portion of their houses in London arc poor; and so they are, but they are, at the same time, of respectable family. The house that I was in is owned by Mr. J. Ludlam, with his wife, the latter having two sisters, Miss Ellen West and Miss Fanny West, who often visit their sister for a couple of weeks or so at a time. Mr. Ludlam is as able as he is respectable and well educated, and is constant attendant at night at lectures on Chemistry, Geology, Zoology, etc. These and hundreds of other -lecturers are got up by the general public—people attending them paying a few pence each nightly. The incomes from these sources are so large that all the expenses—including the salaries of the givers of the

lectures, rent of houses etc,—are defrayed from money taken at the doors. The people profit by them more than by the highest philosophy that has ever been taught in Hindustan. Although I have been here in this house now for six months, and have met Mr. Ludlam, occasionally speaking to him, his voice has never once reached my room. Such politeness in thinking of those who live with them and seeing that they are not disturbed, is politeness indeed. I only wish from this description, to show to my fellow countrymen a picture of the general knowledge of the people amongst whom I am at present living. Mrs. Ludlam is a very able, well educated, accomplished and a very good woman, and I cannot do sufficient justice to all her good qualities, courtesy, politeness and humanity included in them. All her house and other work is done by her with the greatest ability, and her husband is thus at leisure to go to his office or to go to his lectures. Her sisters arc also well educated—one of them, Miss Ellen West being extremely fond of reading. I am at present engaged in writing a book on the Muhammedan religion and have got together many English works for and against the same, as well as others which arc against all religions. Some days ago, Miss Ellen West became very ill, but the next day became better. Although very weak and scarcely able to leave her bed, she sent a message to me asking me to send her some of the above-mentioned books, to add, as she said, to add to her knowledge. I replied that I had only religious works, which were i also extremely disputations; but she asked for some nevertheless, and I therefore sent her a book. In two days she had read it, and on her getting well she gave me some excellent opinions on it. This gives rise to the reflection how good the education of women slightly below the middle class must here. Is it not a matter of astonishment that a woman, when ill, should read with the object of improving her mind? Have you ever seen such a custom in

> India in the family of any noble, nawab, raja or man of high family? If our women in India were to frequent the bazars with their faces, how astonished and alarmed would not their husbands be? It is undoubtedly a fact that their women here, when they hear that the women in India are unable to read and write, are ignorant of education or instruction, are equally astonished, and are displeased and despise them. You must be certain that these Englishmen in India who meet and mix with us, and behave well to us, do so out of policy. If the two nations are together in a free country, and if the customs, ways of living, and private lives of Hindustanis and Englishmen remains as they are at present, the Englishmen would never stop to speak to them, and would look on them as equal to animals. I undoubtedly maintain that the general behaviour of Englishmen towards the natives is the reverse of polite and that this would certainly cease; but I do not urge this point on account of the nations being entitled to politeness on the score of ability. I urge it for the reason, that Englishmen, by treating them badly, detract from their own high character and place obstacles in the way of the spread of civilization".

FEMALE EDUCATION:

In another letter, Syed Ahmed speaks of [(7).] Miss Car-penter, so well known for her philanthropy and her efforts in the cause of female education in Calcutta and Bombay. Syed Ahmed says in one of his letters:-

> "I had a long and interesting conversation with her upon 'Female z .d general education' as well as upon other important matters. Her want of knowledge of Urdu and my want of knowledge of English was rather a drawback but we got on very well by using Mahmud and Khudadad (who joined our party at Bombay) as translators. Miss Carpenter

is a native of Bristol, daughter of Dr. Carpenter, and she has made herself famous in her native town by her efforts in educating the children of the poor. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Unitarian, was a great friend of hers and he died at her father's house (at bristol in 1833) whilst on a visit. It was his description of the sad state of Indian women that caused liter voyage to India. She had a book with her containing opinions on the state of Indian women from 'many influential natives, and she asked me to con-tribute mine thereto. I wrote, En-route to London I have made the acquaintance of Miss Carpenter—an acquaintance which honours and gives me the highest pleasure. Since I first heard her name in connection with her efforts for the advancement of Indian women, I have been desirous of making her acquaintance. Thanks to God, that pleasure has now been vouchsafed to me. Her lofty aims, keen insight, and goodness of heart are evidenced by her efforts in the cause of Indian women. To interest one's self in the education of women, whom God hath made as an help-mate to men in good works, is worthy of every praise. To do good in every way is most laudable, as the foundation-. is good, good results must follow. Even if mistakes aj made at the commencement, efforts thus made excite the emulation of others and the right results will ensure. Efforts for good are sometimes frustrated owing to their being contrary to the manners and customs of those whose good they are intended. In such cases, it is like going contrary to nature; and by doing so, weapons are forged to prevent any good resulting. God told Joshua to order the sun to stand still, although that was wrong, as the order should have been for the earth to stop; but God knew what was the general opinion on the earth at that time; so gave His order in accordance \kith the same. If thus we do not ,hive after good in accordance with manners and customs, we shall not have done as God did, and evil will result. In any case, I trust

and hope, that Miss Carpenter's endeavours may be crowned with success and that the men and women of Hindustan, who are really one, will have their hearts enlightened by truth and culture".

ON NATIONAL PRIDE

[8]"A young Englishman, probably a civilian, came up, and after a short time, asked Mahmud if he was a Hindustani? Mahmud replied in the affirmative, but blushed as he did so, and hastened to explain that he was not one of the aborigines, but that his ancestors were formerly of another country. Reflect, therefore, that until Hindustanis remove this blot they shall never be held in honour by any civilized race".

ON LANDING AT MARSEILLESS

[9] "On landing at Marseilles I saw numerous cabs and omnibuses and a number of very gentlemanly men standing about. These were the "Hotel Commissionaires" who at once asked me what hotel I was going to. I said, 'The Hotel de Louvre' as we had beforehand arranged to go there. The hotel commisionaires at once brought up his omnibus, and put all our luggage on it, we having no trouble with it whatever. Other passengers joined us, and we drove off to the hotel. It was night as we drove through the first European city that I have ever been in, and I felt almost off my head as I gazed from one side of the streets—all splendidly lit up—to the other and saw the rows of such brilliant shops as I had never seen before. The Diwali illuminations in India were nothing to them. The shop-fronts were brilliant with goods, and their glass doors and win-dows were often 10 feet long by as many feet broad. The wares were all visible from the outside, and were so beautifully arranged that they resembled a

> garden. They were lighted up with lamps and candlebra. The street lamps were also extremely well lit up with gas. As I had never before seen any city so brilliant,—nay, not even the residences of Indian nobles are so,—I completely overcome, and wondered how it all was done. In one street there were a couple of shops which were particularly brilliant, their roofs also being of glass; whilst inside were various plants and creeepers, including cypress-trees in china pots—beautiful chairs all about, and many people sitting in them, and some few of them women—the whole lit up with gas. I thought there must be a marriage going on in them, and that they were on this account so well got Up; but I found out afterwards that they were merely public—refreshment houses or Cafes, and that they were great numbers of them. How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such paradises as could never have been conceived by Jamshed!"

"The Hotel de Louvre is a wonderfully good one. The open space inside is oval, with a glass roof to keep out rain and snow, and is surrounded with rooms. There are seven storeys, and the whole arc brilliantly lighted with gas. Our rooms were on the fifth storey, as all those below were occupied. We ascended 120 steps before reaching our rooms, which we found beautifully furnished. Marseilles is not one of the largest cities in France as it has only lately become populous. At present, according to the census, it has 300,131 inhabitants. The engineering firms have 7,000 labourers".

SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT CLIFTON NEAR BRISTOL

"When you see this bridge, you are overwhelmed by the sense of the might of (;i1d, on the one hand and of the might of the human knowledge and skill, on the other. Particularly, you are filled with respect for the greatness and

splendour of this nation, which has such marvellous achievements to its credit; and when you consider:' that ,these achievements, which were beyond the power of even kings, are products of the determination, generosity and awareness of the people themselves, your respect for this nation is increased. When you consider further 'that this is a bridge built only for the public good, and not a king's castle or an Amir's palace, or the mausoleum of somebody's father or grandfather or some Raja Babu's pavilion, the impression made on you is great, indeed, especially if you are an unfortunate Indian full of enthusiasm for your country's progress and, in return, subjected to harsh criticism by your fellow countrymen whom you know to be steeped in selfish, ness, self-indulgence, jealousy and bigotry".

SELF-RELIANCE

"I now ask my countrymen, humbly and respectfully, whether these people are human beings or we-are—we, who are engrossed in ourselves like animals, we, who are so lacking in self-reliance that we expect the government to do everything -for us; educating our boys, educating our girls, even teaching them their religion. It is.a thousand pities that this is so. It really is a crying shame. We are not lit to show our faces to the people of any civilized country."

SOME SIDE REFLECTIONS:

In his letter to Mahdi Ali, Syed Ahmed wrote:-

"The more I saw the life here, the greater became my sadness at the thought of my people's follies and insane prejudices, their present decline and their future degeneration. I cannot think of any way to warn them of the perils they face. Even in religion, which they think they observe very well, they display the same foolishness, incompetence and ignorance as in other matters, what is one to do then? There is no remedy for ill luck and misfortune".

SYED AHMED'S ACTIVITIES IN ENGLAND

Syed Ahmed's biographer, Major-General G.F.I. Graham, who was in England at that time writes: "Syed Ahmed's stay in England was made pleasant to him by many people, particularly, by Lord Lawrence, who was most kind to him, asking him to dinner, and calling on him once every month during his stay in the country. Lord Lawrence knew Syed-Ahmed's family well. Another friend whom he often saw was Lord Stanley of Alderley, who, by his long residence at the English Embassy at Constantinople, had acquired a profound knowledge of the Mohammedan character and religion, both in its social and political aspects. He had an interview with Carlyle and the Chelsia sage was unusually gracious to him. They talked long and earnestly over "Heroes and Hero-wor-ship" especially about Mohammed (p.b.u.h) of whom Carlyle expresses a very high opinion in that work; and also about Syed Ahmed's "Essays on the life of Mohammed (p.b.u.h)" then in press. Sir John William Kaye was another whom he saw a good deal of and had correspondence with this seer. Syed Ahmed was present at the last reading given by Charles Dickens. He was very kindly received by the Duke of Argyl, then Secretary of State for India, who introduced him to the Marquis of Lorne and presented him with the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India.

"Lord Lawrence, on the 4th June, 1869, wrote to him as follows about this: "

> "I am very glad to hear that you are to have the Third Class of the Star of India. It is an honour you well deserve. Indeed I may say that I recommended you for it before I left India."

John Lawrence's praise is worth having. The other recipients of the Companionship of the Star of India on the same day as Syed Ahmed were Messrs Harrison Barlow, Boyle, and Captain Meadows Taylor. Syed Ahmed's lifelong friend, Raja Jai Kishen Das was also decorated in India.

SYED AHMED INVESTED WITH THE INSIGNIA OF 'COMPANION OF THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA'

Syed Ahmed has given below an account of the ceremony:-

"On Friday, the 6th of August, 1869, I-drove to the India Office to receive the insignia of Companionship of the Star of India. The rest of the recipients were also present, We were received by Mr. Kaye (afterwards Sir John William-Kaye) Secretary to His Grace the Duke of Argyl, Secretary of .State for India, who shook hands with us all, and spoke a few courteous and congratulatory words to each of us. After a short interval, Mr. Benthal, Private Secretary to His Grace, entered the room where we were assembled, and shaking hands with me, asked me to accompany him into an adjoining room, where the Duke was waiting to receive me. The Duke was seated without any appearance or surroundings of ceremony, and rising, received me very graciously, shook me by the hand, and introduced me to his son, the Marquis, who was present on the occasion. He conversed with me very kindly or some minutes, and enquired after my sons, especially about their education and the progress of their studies. He spoke in English, of course, and I answered him as well as I could in that language, and only regret that I could not speak as correctly and fluently as I could have wished. His Grace then, presented me with the Star, together with the Royal Warrant bearing the signatures Of the Queen. appointing me a "Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India" and after congratulating me on the great distinction that had been conferred upon me permitted me to retire. The other recipients having been similarly summoned and invested with the Star, we were all asked to lunch by the Duke, and I sat down to a really splendid luncheon, taking the seat on his left. Many influential men, members of Parliament, and others, were present amongst others, Sir Bartle Frere, whom I had already met before, and with whom I had a long conversation. After lunch the Duke retired, shaking hands with all present, but

the rest of us continued at table over the desert, and chat-ting for some time after".

Syed Ahmed was also present at the dinner given at Greenwich by the Smeatonian Society of civil engineers, on the 13th July, 1869 and made a speech on the effects of engineering works on the Indian public which was translated and read out in English by Lord Lawrence. The following is an extract from the 'Daily News' on the s21st July on the above :-

> "Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers.—This Society made an excursion down the Thames, and afterwards had an entertainment at Greenwich, on Thursday, the 13th instant. The party started from Westminster in Mr. Penn's steam-yatch, and visited, under special arrangements, his ENGINE MANUFACTURY at Deptford, also Messrs Siemen's Telegraph Cable Works at Charlton, and the Gun and Ammunition Manufacturies at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. The inspections and the explanations given were of the greatest interest, and afforded much information and pleasure to the company. At the dinner were nearly fifty gentlemen, the chair being taken by Mr. Penn, the President for the year, and among those present were Lord Lawrence, Syed Ahmed and his son, Lord Alfred Churchill, Hon'ble J.R. Howard, Mr. Reed, (Ad-miralty)—J.A.L. Simmons, Colonels Boxer, Campbell, and Murray and Sir Sidney Waterloo etc. The Society dates back from 1771, when Smeaton instituted a gathering of professional engineers and men of science for friendly inter-courses and discussion".

It was quite an unique honour to an Indian and a representative Muslim visitor from India.

PETITION TO DUKE OF ARGYLL, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

Even in his official and personal matters Syed Ahmed displayed dignity and decorum. The following letter to the Duke of Argyll, the then Secretary of State for India is typical, although he was violating the official practice of `through proper channel'.

(10) my Lord Duke,

In laying before your Grace the few following facts and the petition founded thereon, I do so with full confidence that your Grace will give them generous and liberal consideration.

I am, as no doubt your Grace is aware, one of her Majesty's subordinate judges of India of the Uncovenanted service, and have, as the accompanying papers will prove, spent the best years of my life in the service of the British Government, not without approval, and may I be pardoned for hoping benefit to the Government and to my native land.

I have long felt that it was a great disadvantage to my country and people, and especially to the Indian officials like myself, to have no personal knowledge of the land or the rulers, or even the institutions of the kingdom to whom Providence has given the sway over India; that one of the chief requisites to bind us close to England is, that there should be free and untrammeled intercourse between us; that we should be encouraged to come freely to this centre of power and civilization, and to note for ourselves how true is the interest felt for India's good by our common sovereign, and by the councillors of that sovereign. On the occasion of the Durbar held in Oudh in 1807 by Lord Lawrence, our late Governor-General, I availed myself of the opportunity to express these views to him, and was gratified by his seeming to concur fully in them.

Government resolution of the 30th June 1868, founding nine scholarships to be given to Indian youths, desirous of completing their education in England, was soon afterwards

issued. This harmonised with my previous views; but knowing how many prejudices exist in the minds of the great mass of my countrymen against such a measure, involving as it does a sacrifice of the daily habits of a lifetime, I determined to be the first to avail myself of the opening given, and so applied for and obtained one of the scholarships for my son, who was then a student of the Calcutta University, and had passed the examination entitling him to a nomination. He is now with me now in London, and has commenced his course at Lincoln's Inn. I also did the utmost in my power to induce others of my countrymen to follow my example, and avail themselves of the wise policy of Government by establishing an Association for the encouragement of travel to England.

Previous, however, to the grant of the scholarships, wish-ing to set an example in my own person of seeking knowledge of England, and its institutions and policy, I had applied for furlough for eighteen months for this purpose, petitioning at the same time, that under the special cir-cumstances of the case, I might have the special indulgence of drawing full pay. during the time of absence, and of counting the same towards pension. An unfavourable reply was given, it being stated that under the furlough rules for uncovenanted officers I was covenanted not entitled to the favour solicited. This much I knew before. It was the special indulgence I had applied for and I hoped would have been conceded to me, and, in a further application for the same, I asked that my request be placed before the Secretary of State for India. Being now, however, in England, I take the liberty of a direct appeal to your Grace, praying your generous consideration of my case….

In order to come to England I have been obliged to sell and mortgage my property, and the sum thus raised will, I fear, not cover the inevitable expenses of the coming and going and residing in England, and that, if not aided, I may have to return to India an indebted and impoverished man...."

The petition was favourably considered and the requests lade sanctioned as a special case. Following is the reply :

INDIA OFFICE,S.W.
7th August 1869.

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, requesting that you may be per-mitted to draw full pay during your present leave and to reckon it as service- towards pension and to acquaint you in reply that the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request but that, under the circumstances 'stated in your letter, the Secretary of State for India in Council has been pleased to sanction .the grant to you as a special case, in consideration of your services during the Mutiny, and of your general higher character, of the sum of ..0 250 per annum for two years, in addition to the furlough pay to which you arc entitled under the rules—I am Sir, your obedient servant.

M.G. GRANT DUFF

SYED AHMED KHAN BAIIADUR, C.S.I.

During his stay in London, Syed Ahmed was made an Honorary member of Athenaeum Club.

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY —

While Syed Ahmed. enjoyed immensely the social side of his life in England he never for a moment forgot that the main purpose of his visit to England was to write a biography of Prophet Muhammad (p.h.u.h) in England in a new light so as to effectively refute the allegations made by the Christian missionaries and the biased views being propagated by them against Islam. It was for the first time that the Muslims were confronted by the Christian missionaries'

propaganda against Islam undermining their faith on their own soil. It was exactly at that moment that atheism an communism were making virulent attacks on religion an Christianity in Europe and sooner or later, Muslims all over the world would be called upon to face. Probably Syed Ahmed was the first to foresee the impending danger an he decided to counter it on intellectual plane. In this conic) we may trace the events back to 1813 when the ban on the entry of missionaries was raised in India and a Bishopri was created at Calcutta, later increased to three, soon to b reinforced by many American and German missionaries; From preaching, the missionaries took to teaching, helped by the new demand for English.

The presbyterian missionary, Alexander Duff founded the Scottish Church College in 1830 at Calcutta. The appeal wt not only to the villager and to the men in the bazar but also to the intellectual elite as well. From 1854 the grants-in-aid system and Government policy encouraged a rapid growth in the number of Christian mission schools and colleges, of which the Madras Christian College was perhaps the foremost. A further departure was the engagement of missionaries in philanthropic activity in the form of hospital and medical aid work such as maternity homes, famine relic orphanages and later in 'rural uplift'. In the missionat schools principles of the Christian faith were taught. In sour districts convented officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools and encourage the people to attend them. Soon, in North Western Provinces dm were Muslim converts doing missionary work still carrying Muslim names. For instance, the name of Revd Imdad-al-Di and Syed Abdullah Asim, who wrote against Syed Ahmed may be cited. Delhi College was founded in 1825 an English classes were opened in 1827 where Revd C.I Andrews taught and Muslim intellectuals, prominently among them being Maulvi Nazir Ahmed, Munshi Zakaullah an Altaf Hussain Hali had their education but through a stroke of good luck to the Muslim community, threw in their Iot, with Syed Ahmed Khan with unequalled zeal and tot dedication.

With the final liquidation of the Mughal empire Muslims found themselves to their- horror that they had fallen to the depths of ignominy and even their religion was being subverted and the new rulers were striking at the roots of their faith. Sir William Muir (at that time the Lieutenant Governor of North West Provinces) also wrote 'The Life of Mahomee—a monumental work in six volumes which contained numerous half-truths and vile charges subtly presented as a work of original research and scholarship. Much of the Orientalists' writings about the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) were designed to prove that the Muslims were an inferior people and to turn the imperial and political conquest into an intellectual and religious victory. The Christian missionaries, in their crude way, and the Orientalists in their more subtle ways singled out the personality of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) for attack and ridicule. in Europe, battle between science and religion was already raging. Syed Ahmed was pricked and felt bitter and indignant over the sacrilegious insinuations made by Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant Governor of North West Provinces. Material required for- writing an equally effective refutation and demolition of the-arguments put forward by the learned author was not available in India and needed a lot of painstaking research and a careful study of all the Arabic sources quoted. Syed Ahmed decided to undertake the journey to England that he may study the original sources in the British Museum to complete the work.

ESSAYS ON TILE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD:

Writing to his friend, Mahdi Ali on 4th June 1869,[(11)] - "just a month after his arrival in London, Syed Ahmed reaffirmed his resolution to go ahead with the project of writing the biography of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) in spite of paucity of funds and informing, at the same time, that he had found a wealth of material in the India Office Library and had also discovered an able writer, — John Davenport, to assist him. By 6th August 1869, he had decided -that it would not he possible for 'him to carry out the project as originally envisaged by him for want of funds

and adequate assistance in marking and copying out the references but in spite of these handicaps he started writing short essays on various controversial subjects connected with Islam and the Prophet and had already written the first essay of the series. A fortnight later, however, he wrote to Mahdi Ali reaffirming his original resolution: "My mind is a little disturbed these days. I am reading the book written by William Muir on the Prophet. It has cut me to the quick with its unjust and -prejudiced statements, and I have made up my mind to write the book I originally planned to write on the life of the Prophet, no matter if all the money I have got in the world be spent and I be reduced to the state of a beggar. At least on the day of judgement the call will go forth, 'present that humble man, Ahmed, who died a pauper in glorifying the name of his ancestor, Muhammed (p.b.u.h) the Blessed'. He had ordered books from France and Ger-many and had purchased some from England. Then, on 10th September, .1K)9, he informed Mahdi Ali that he was busy writing the Life of the Prophet, not withstanding many difficulties, not the least of which was paucity of funds. The Muslims, he said tauntingly, "will pull up their sleeves to fight anybody who eats with Englishmen, but if you ask them to spend some money in support of their religion, they will run away from you. He announced that he was getting the hook published in English and had postponed its publication in Urdu, as he had secured the services of an English writer the like of whom could not be found in India in the same rate of payment. "If this 1- ok of mine" he assured, which will consist of ten Chapters, is completed, "I shall think that my visit to London was equal to ten pilgrimages to Mecca in terms of salvation. May God accept it. Amen." On 1st October, he wrote to Mahdi Ali that he was sending him a copy of his first essay. "I have replied to everything that Sir. William Muir and other writers have written. But my replies are not .like those usually given by your Mullahs, who talk in dualistic terms about the attributes of Prophethood; that is more, they are based on thorough research." "Then, on 17th December, he informed Mahdi Ali that the hook was being published under the title of "ESSAYS ON THE LIFE

OF MUHAMMAD" and the First Volume consisted of 12 Essays.. He proposed the name of the Urdu version to be Ahmed's Discourses on the Life of Muhammad." On 10th January 1870, he announced that the first volume had been published at last and had cost more than two thousand five hundred rupees, which had dealt him a stunning blow. By 21st January he had been reduced to a state verging on penury, with little hope of compensation in the shape of -appreciation by his Muslim compatriots. "My compatriots", he sadly wrote, -"will not appreciate the labour I have ex-pended on this work, on the contrary, they will censure me and will call me an infidel and apostate, because I am no longer a blind conformist. On perhaps two or three questions, I have disagreed with the general opinion of a few selected Ulema. So my kind friends will forget- everything else and pass a judgement of infidelity against me on the basis of this alone."

"I have even written a preface to my book" he wrote in his letter of 11th Feb 1870, "God he thanked for His favours." He had no money left to pay for his voyage back home and had to rely on the generous offer of a loan of his Agent to defray the expenditure. Syed Ahmed had hoped that the book will sell well in France and Germany. but even this hope was dashed to the ground by the outbreak of war between the two countries.

Syed Ahmed's financial. difficulties were partly due to his contribution in cash to John Davenport, an earnest and sympathetic student of Islam. who was finding it difficult to find a publisher for the printing of his hook "Apology for Muhammad and the Quran". Syed Ahmed had met John Davenport .soon alter his arrival in London and had become interested in him. For the love of Islam and the fulfilment of his mission of teaching the Englishmen to respect Islam, Syed Ahmed readily offered to hear the complete expenses for its publication. Writing about the hook of John Daven-port, "Apology for Muhammad and the Quran" Syed Ahmed expressed the highest admiration for the author, who is not a Muslim hut an Englishman. and yet had been able to achieve something which even Muslims might very well envy.”

**ESSAYS ON THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

The book, "Essays on the Life of Muhammad" comprises of 12 Essays, subject-wise as under :-

ESSAYS:

• -All quotations from Sir Syed Ahmed's -Essays on the Life of Muhammad-

REVIEW OF BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE ON PROPHET MUHAMMAD (p.b.u.h)

In the preface he had written Syed Ahmed presented a masterly review of the Biographical literature in English, German and French languages on Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) and Islam. A few selected excerpts are reproduced below:

"Sir William Muir writes that," to the three biographies by Ibni Hisham, by Waekedee (Tabkhat-i-Kabir generally called Katibul Waekedee) and his secret-try, and by Tabari, the judicious historian of Mohammad will, as his original authorities, confine himself." But he does not mention how many traditions are contained in these books that have not been traced up to Muhammad, (p.b.u.h)— how many there are the chain of whose narrators are broken, how many there arc whose narrators are of suspected character or impeached veracity, —how many there are whose narrators are entirely unknown, and, lastly, though not the least, how many traditions there are which have not been subjected to any examination whatever.

Dr. Sprenger, in his zeal overrates the real value of Waekedee, respecting which, Sir William Muir says, "Dr. Sprenger's admiration of the work carried him beyond the reality. But Sir William Muir himself seems to have preferred Waekedee to all others as almost all his materials rest upon the authority of, and are derived from, that book. Waekedee, however, is the worst author of all, and of the least credit and all Mohammedan doctors and divines have declared him not to be, in the least degree, of any authority, and as being the least entitled to credit. Mohammedan doctors and divines have unanimously impeached Waekedee for the authenticity of the facts and the weakness and spuriousness of the traditions mentioned by him."

In my judgement, the work of Abulfeda is undoubtedly the best of all, and therefore the best entitled to credit. He has taken the greatest care in writing his book, and has studiously endeavoured to avoid inserting any spurious and

puerile traditions whatsoever. It would, however, be going too far to assert that he has wholly succeeded in so doing. In addition to the Oriental writers I have enumerated above, there are many European authors who have written works upon Islam and its founder, unfortunately, I could not avail myself of the early works upon these subjects such as those of Daniel, Luther, Malanethon, Spanbeim, De Herbolot, but from what I learn of them from other sources, I find that they contain little else than abuse and uncharitable expressions. To these names may he added that of Maracci, who appears never to have been able to satiate himself with malignant and disgusting vituperations. My surprise, therefore, at reading the following remark in the 'Quarterly Review' No. 254, where it is stated that "the former of whom (Maracci) has not without some show of reason, been accused of being a secret believer may easily he conceived".

Dean Perideau is another of those uncompromising and intolerant writers, when any Mohammedan happens to dip into his book, he cannot repress a smile at the extreme ignorance which the Christian author displays in almost every page of his work. Besides these writers, Hottinger, Gagnier, Reland and Ockley have also written upon subjects relative to Islam and Mohammed, but I am sorry to have to state that I could not avail myself of the labours of these authors. Goethe, Amari, Noldike and Doxy have also written much upon above subjects, and the writer of an article upon Islam in the 'Quarterly Review' represents the above named authors to "have fought the world at large that Islamism is a thing of vitality, fraught with a thousand fruitful germs; and that Mohammad, whatever view of his character (to use that vague word for once) he held, has earned a place in the golden book of humanity".

One of the most eminent European writers of the 'Life of Mohammad', is Dr. Sprenger, who has written a biography of the Prophet in English printed in Allahabld in FcI. This work, however, is far from being entitled to credit. The author falls into a great number of mistakes as to the subject matter, but besides this, what is still worse is, he has

adopted so exaggerated a style, and his mind is so much preoccupied and warped by prejudice and bigotry as ill-be-comes of any writer, and more especially a historian.

To justify this our remark we shall quote the following passage which will moreover show the vast amount of his knowledge upon the subject upon which he presumed to write. The Islam, he writes, "Is not the work of Muhammad; it is not the doctrine of the imposter....There is, however, no doubt that the imposter has defiled it by his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his".

With regard to the life written by Dr. Sprenger, Sir William Muir writes that "the work of Sprenger which came out as I was pursuing studies, appeared to me (as I have shown in some passages of this treatise) to proceed upon erroneous assumptions, both as to the status of Arabic prior to Mahomet, and the character of the Prophet himself.

The same author (Dr. Sprenger) has written another work upon Islam, in the German language, in six volumes. In writing this work he has availed himself of Tabkhati Ibne Saad, Ibne Ishak, and Waekedee. To my great regret, how-ever, I have been unable, owing to my ignorance of the German language, to avail myself of the little advantage I might have derived from this work but, on account of my acquaintance with the works of those authors from whom he has drawn his material, it appears to me almost certain that this work also is. like those of other Western writers, wanting in dispassionate research and candid investigation, inasmuch as its author has likewise taken his subject matter from an ill-adjusted and confused mass of puerile traditions. Speaking of this same work, the above named writer of the article upon Islam in the 'Quarterly Review' has the following remarks:-

> "The work of the first of these (Dr. Sprenger's) we have placed at the head of our paper, because it is the most comprehensive and exhaustive, the most learned of all, because more than any of the others, it does, by bringing all the materials bodily before the reader, enable him to form his own judgement".

The best of all the biographies of Mohammad from the pen of foreign authors, and the one which is executed in the most learned and masterly manner, is the "The Life of Mahomet" by Sir William Muir. This work is in four thick active volumes, handsomely printed. The extensive and intimate acquaintance of this talented author with oriental literature is highly esteemed and justly appreciated by all educated Europeans. As regards the merit of the work itself, besides the defects of the subject matter being almost entirely based upon the authority of Wackedee— an author who, as I have before remarked, bears the least reputation in the Mohammadan literary world, and who is the least entitled to claim our belief as to his assertions—the intention and animus with which the work was written are to be deprecated as having been the fruitful source of error and deficiency. The author himself informs us:

> "That the work was first undertaken, and the study of Oriental authorities entered upon, at the instance of Rev.C.G. Pfander D.D., so well known as a Christian Apologist in the controversy with the Mohammedans, who urged that a biography of the Prophet of Islam, suitable for the perusal of his followers should be compiled in the Hindustani language from the early sources acknowledged by themselves to be authentic and authoritative.

But it is with much regret I have to state that this motive, notwithstanding the high ability and talents of Sir William Muir, exercised upon his mind the same influences which it would naturally have exerted over any other person under the same circumstances; so much so indeed that the interesting features of Islam appeared to him as deformed and repulsive, an impression the effect of which upon the reader was to make him consider it as exaggeration. But, as often the case, so is the present instance, exaggeration defeated its own object, namely, that which induced the Rev. Pfander to desire that the work should be undertaken by Sir William Muir, the result of which

was that he, whom the former 'would fain have held up as an angel of darkness, proved a seraph of light.

When this work appeared, the curiosity it excited among the reading public was only equalled by their impatience to pursue it, but no sooner was it found that the simplest and the plainest facts connected with Islam and Mohammad had been strained and twisted and distorted, in short, subjected to the Procrustes process in order to make them the indices or exponents of author's prepossessions and prejudices, that the interest created by the announcement of the work fell, instanter, to zero. As to the young Mohammedans who were pursuing their study of the English literature, and were perfectly ignorant of their own theology, the perusal of the work under consideration raised in their youthful minds the question, if what Sir William Muir has written is a misrepresentation of plain and simple facts, what are these facts in reality?

The effect which the perusal of the work in question produced upon my own mind was, to determine me to collect, after a critical examination of them into one systematical and methodical form, all those traditions concern-ing the life of Mohammad that are considered by Mohammadan divines to be trustworthy, genuine and authoritative, and, at the same time, to bring together in a separate volume all those traditions also that are in any way connected with the life of the Prophet, but which are spurious, puerile, apocryphal and utterly unworthy of credit; specifying at the same time, the reasons for so considering them. From this purpose I was deterred by various causes, among which may be more particularly mentioned the time engrossing avocations of official life, and want of many MSS which were indispensable for the successful accomplishment of my undertaking. But, nevertheless, I continued, at various times, writing essays on different subjects relating to Islam and of which the following twelve are now presented to the public in their digested form and which constitute the first volume of the work I am now engaged upon, namely, the Life of Mohammad, the illustrious Prophet of Arabia. The remaining essays, making the second volume, will be laid before the public in a like digested form.

Having given, in the preceding pages, a short and cursory notice of those European authors who have written anything upon Islam or Mohammed, I cannot in justice pass over un-noticed the names of those able and learned English writers who have taken a correct view of the above named subjects, and who have well defended them from prejudiced and illiberal antagonists. The gentlemen now alluded to and for whose talent I shall ever cherish high esteem and respect, are Edward Gibbon, the celebrated historian. Godffrey Higgins, Thomas Carlyle and John Davenport.

I shall conclude this preface and introduction by quoting a few of the remarks of the above named authors.

JOHN DAVENPORT writes: "Is it possible to conceive, we may ask, that the man who effected such great and lasting reforms in his own country by substituting by the worship of the ONE only true God for the gross and debasing idolatry in which his countrymen had been plunged for ages; who had abolished infanticide, prohibited the use of spirituous liquors and games of chance (those sources of moral depravity), who restricted within comparatively narrow limits the unrestrained polygamy which he found in existence and practice;—can we, we repeat, conceive so great and zealous a reformer to have been a mere imposter, or that his whole career was of clear hypocrisy? No, surely nothing but a consciousness of real righteous intentions could have carried Mohammad so steadily and constantly without ever flinching or wavering, without ever betraying himself to his most intimate connections and companions, from his first revelation to Khadijah to his last agony in the arms of Aygsha".

"Surely a good and sincere man full of his confidence in his Creator who makes an immense reform both in faith and practice, is truly a direct instrument in the hands of God, and may be said to have a commission from him. Why may not Mohammad be recognised, no less than other faithful, though imperfect, servants of God, as truly a servent of God, serving Him faithfully though imperfectly? Why it may not be believed that he was, in his own age and country, a

preacher of truth and righteousness, sent to teach his own people unity and righteousness of God, to give them civil and moral precepts suited to their condition"?

EDWARD GIBBON expresses himself as follows:-

" le creed of Mohomet is free from suspicion of ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony of the unity of God. The Prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of the idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational prin-ciples that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the Author of the Universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the Prophet, are firmly held by his disciples and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mohammedans: a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance al ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mohomet: his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of Unitarians; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images".

THOMAS CARLYLE remarks thus: "Our current hypothesis about Mohomet, that he was a scheming imposter, falsehood incarnate, that his religion is a mere mass of quackery and fatuity, begins really to be now untenable to any one. The lies which well-meaning zeal had heaped round this man are disgraceful to ourselves only. When Pococke inquired of Grotius, where the proof was of that story of the pigeons, trained to pass from Mohomet's ear, and pass for an angel dictating to him, Grotius answered, that here was no proof. It is really time to dismiss all that. The word

that this man spoke has been the life-guidance now of one hundred and eighty millions of men these twelve hundret years. These Hundred and Eighty millions were made by God as well as we. A greater number of God's creature believe in Mohomet's word, at this hour, than in any other word whatever. Are we to suppose that it was a miserable piece of spiritual legerdemain, this which so many creature of the Almighty have lived by and died by. I, for my part cannot form any such supposition. I will believe most thing sooner than that. One would be entirely at a loss what to think of this world at all, if quackery so grew and wen sanctioned here. Alas, such theories are very lamentable, i we attain to knowledge of anything in God's true creation let us disbelieve them wholly. They are the products of an age of skepticism; they include the saddest paralysis, and mere death-life of the souls of men: more godless theory, I think was never promulgated in this earth. A false mat found a religion. Why, a false man cannot build brick house If he does not know and follow truly the properties o mortar, burnt clay and whatever he works in, it is no house that he makes but a rubbish heap. It will not stand fo twelve centuries, to lodge a hundred and eighty millions; it will fall straightaway. A man must conform himself to nature's Laws, be verily in communion with Nature and the truth of things, or nature will answer his. No, not at all!"

Syed Ahmed had a very special object in view as his intellect and perception of modern learning matured. In the first instance, he was determined to refute the falsehoods woven round the person of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) pand redeem his honour and to effectively counter the compaign of calumny and misrepresentation being carried on by the Christian missionaries so that the upcoming generation of Muslim youth exposed to modern learning may not fall an easy prey. He says candidly: "It being indispensable that the reader should know something respecting the works connected with the present production (Essays on the Life of Muhammad) all of which are in the English language, and will materially assist him in forming a correct opinion of my humble efforts; and as, moreover, the work was specially

intended for the use of Mohammedan youths who are pursuing their English studies, it has been written in that language".

Egypt had come under British rule as early as 1798, Turkey was already considered the sick man of Europe and Persia was in a state of chaos and anarchy. Indian Muslims, having come under the colonial rule of the British were in a state of disarray, decay and degeneration and had still not recovered from the traumatic experience and effects of the aftermath of the Indian revolt. Jamal al-Din Afghani (1838-1897) was then an unknown figure being in the service of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Afghanistan — (visited Lon-don/Paris for the first time in 1883). Mohammad Abduh, the father of Egyptian renaissance and the first modernist reformer in Egypt, was still a student (1849-1905). It is to Syed Ahmed goes the credit of being the writer of the FIRST biography of Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) in English language, say the first European language—and the FIRST writer in defence of Islam. During his stay in England (for 17 months) he met such eminent personalities as Edward Gibbon and Thomas Carlyle. Syed Ahmed and Carlyle talked long and earnestly over "Heroes and Hero-worship'— espe-cially about Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) for whom Carlyle expresses a very high regard in that work, and also about Syed Ahmed's work 'Essays on the Life of Mohammad' then in press.

Writing about the 'Essays on the Life of Mohammad', J.M.S. Baljon Jr D.D., who made an exhaustive indepth study of Syed Ahmed Khan, says:-

> [12] 'The Spirit of Islam' (1922) is, it should be stated, a recast and amplified edition of a book of Syed Amir Ali (written at an early stage, called 'A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammad'. This work came under the direct influence of Syed Ahmed Khan's 'Essays on the Life of Mohammad', published three years before. This influence is most apparent in the liberal views one

> finds stated in the 'Critical Examination' in respect to the social injunctions of Mohammad. But while in this book, belonging to his youth, the author makes more than one reference to the Essays and the Tahzib-al-Akhlaq, he seems at the mature age to free himself from the obligation to acknowledge his indebtedness to his forerunner, and thus many of the views he presents in his 'Spirit of Islam' as his own have, in fact, proceeded from a much greater genius".

Syed Ahmed, by his scholarly exposition demolished completely the arguments of Sir William Muir and other ob-noxious writers on Islam and Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) point by point copiously citing original authentic sources and extensive quotations from Old and New Testaments and Christian authorities. Syed Ahmed proved beyond doubt that the sources on which Sir William Muir relied were weak and rejected. Another great object that he had achieved was to save the Muslim youth newly exposed to Western skeptical thought and arming them intellectually against falling victims to the subtle and vile propaganda campaigns against Islam and the Prophet.

To sum it up, the Essays are a learned discourse and still serve as an invaluable guide to serious writers on Searah literature. It is all the more regrettable that 'The Essays on the Life of Mohammad' were consigned to oblivion due to the opposition of the reactionary Ulema who have not been able to produce any creative work and kept the Muslim Umma in an abyss of illiteracy and ignorance; the only creative work 'History of Saracens' and the 'Spirit of Islam' which gained acceptance and source of inspiration throughout the Muslim world were produced by Amir Ali who is not from the coterie of Ulema.

To do full justice to the passionate love of the Prophet and Islam Syed Ahmed evinced all his life few excerpts from the 'Essays on the Life of Mohammad' arc reproduced:-

Syed Ahmed had taken the major points raised by Sir William Muir one by one and discussed the authenticity of

the sources from which Muir drew his conclusions and refuted his views as only a scholar can do. Syed Ahmed demolished Muir's arguments completely by a masterly analysis of the subject matter.

1. **ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM ISLAM BY CHRISTIANITY**

No religion upon earth is more friendly to Christianity than Islam and the latter has been to none more beneficial and advantageous to Christianity. The whole interest of Christianity concentrated in that extraordinary character, Jesus Christ, and in the Essenian, John the Baptist, and it was with the most steady resolution, and the most undaunted heart, and the most unflinching perseverance that Islam fought against Judaism in favour of Christianity, and openly and manfully did it declare that the mission of John the Baptist was undoubtedly true and that Jesus Christ was unquestionably "The word of God", and "the spirit of God". What other faith, then, can pretend to have proved itself more beneficial to, and to have done more for, the cause of Christianity than Islam?. It is the eternal glory of Islam that it re-established the worship of the unity of Godhood, and revived that pure religion, inculcated and promulgated by Christ himself, it constantly warned the then-called Christians of their errors, and invited them to accept the true religion — a religion preached by Christ. Many Christians, whose eyes were opened by the loud watchword of Islam, perceived the degraded state into which they had been plunged, and thenceforward strove to recover their former position in the scale of religions, of the world in general this class of men is now distinguished by the proud appellation of Unitarians Christians.

Now, were this Unitarianism taken away from the world for a moment, the following remarks of Gibbon would be in every respect opposite:-

"If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might possibly inquire the name

of the Deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple. At Oxford or Geneva they would experience less surprise; but it might be incumbent on them to pursue the Catechism of the Church, and to study the Orthodox Commentators on their own writings and the words of their master".

The greatest of the boons conferred by Islam upon Christianity against the exhorbittant power of the Popes, under which they had so long groaned. The Pope was looked upon as the infallible Vicar of Christ. He could open the gates of Purgatory and Heaven. He arrogated to himself the power of purging away, by means of indulgences, the sins of whom-soever he pleased. He was invested with full power to make what was unlawful, lawful. In fact, the authority he possessed and the jurisdiction he exercised he was in no way inferior to Christ himself. The Koran, in the following passage, pointed out the evils flowing therefrom, reprimanded the Christians for their slavish servility and exhorted them to throw off so ignonimous a yoke, and to seek out the truth for themselves. The Koran says:-

> "Say, 0 ye who have received the Scriptures—come to a just determination between us and you—that we worship not any besides God and associate no creature with Him, and that the one of us take not the others for Lords (the high-priests and the popes) besides God."

When the passage was revealed, Adee ibne Hatim, a new convert to Islam said to Mohammad, "0 Prophet of the Lord, we did not use to worship the pope as our God" whereupon Prophet replied, "had he not the power to pronounce to be lawful that which was unlawful, according to religion, and vice versa? and did you not put faith in his words as in the words of God?" He replied, "Verily, 0 Messenger of the Lord," that we used to "The Prophet rejoined,"this is to take others for Lords (popes) besides God." For a time the wholesome truth inculcated by the

Koran, was looked upon by the Christians with impatience and hatred, but as truth never fails, at the last, to impress upon the minds of men, it gradually engrafted itself upon that of Luther, who, when he came in contact with the above quoted passage of the Koran, at once comprehended the truth it inculcated, and, clearly perceiving the slavish and degrading position in which his co-religionists were plunged, at once stood up to preach publicly against that servile practice, and although some of his adversaries denounced him as being a Mohammadan at heart he never desisted from his endeavours, and, at last, succeeded in affecting the grand reform generally known as Protestantism or the Refor-mation; and for this emancipation of the human mind from the worst of all slavery— a priestly one—Christianity should for ever remain thankful .to Islam."

REFUTATION OF THE OPINION THAT ISLAM HAS BEEN INJURIOUS TO HUMAN SOCIETY

Sir William Muir states that: "setting aside considerations of minor import, three radical evils flow from the faith First Polygamy, Divorce and Slavery are maintained and perpetuated striking as they do, at the root of public morals, poisoning public life and disorganising society. Second; Freedom of judgement in religion is crushed and annihilated. Tolerance is unknown. Third: A barrier has been interposed against the reception of Christianity."

Syed Ahmed says, "we shall consider every one of these evils singly and separately.

POLYGAMY:

It is a great mistake to suppose that by Islam Polygamy is made compulsory upon its followers: on the contrary, the general practice of it is not even recommended, the privileged use of it being reserved for such as for physical reasons may stand in need of it, but in the absence of such

an excuse the indulgence in it is wholly contrary to th virtues and morality taught by Islam.

Unfortunately, however, no small impediment is thrown i the way of a calm and candid investigation of the subject h the antagonism which exists between the manners, custom and modes of thought of one nation and those of another Thus, the very word polygamy suggests to Christians idc so offensive that they enter upon any discussion respecting; the practice with minds almost predetermined to find in it nothing but an unmitigated evil, and without inquiries how far it may be justified by the requirements of climate, the comparative number of the sexes and by various physiological and social reasons.

We propose to consider this subject from three points view, namely, Nature, Society and Religion.

For the due consideration of the first point, it will be necessary to ascertain, if possible, what has been the will or intention of the Creator of all living creatures as regards this subject, or, in other words, whether He intended man to be universally polygamistic or not, Now, this His intention, can, we apprehend, be clearly and indisputably in all the works of nature, for it is evidently impossible that His will should be at variance with the productions of it; and, accordingly, from the unerring manifestations of nature we learn that such beings as are intended by their Creator to be monogamistic invariably bring forth their young in pairs, one of the two being a male and the other a female. Those on the other hand, that arc intended to be polygamistic are delivered of one or more, no relative proportion of sex being observed. According to this law of nature man falls under second head; but as, by his position, and by the rare and precious endowment of reason, is raised for above all other sentient beings so as to be required to use all these powers, and privileges bestowed upon him by nature in common with other beings around him, with caution, and in harmony with his physical, social and political liabilities as well as the laws of hygiene and the influence of the climate in which he lives.

Secondly, man is, by his very nature as God saw "it was not good for man to be alone" He made a helpmate for him" which is woman—one who was destined to share with him the cares and the amenities, the sorrows and pleasures of life; to increase his happiness and diminish his afflictions by her tender sympathy—one lastly who was to contribute, with himself, to carry out that great, that all—important command, "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth," When, however, from whatever cause, this helpmate fails to perform her natural duty, some remedy must surely have been appointed by the All-wise Creator to meet the exigency and that remedy is polygamy—that is, the act of man's marrying either more than one wife at one and the same time, or after divorcing the former one. The later privilege is allowed to the wife in the event of the husband's impotency with this restorable difference only, that man can have resource to this remedy when he so wills, while the wife must first obtain a legal authorisation for the act.

Again, in order to prevent persons from running into excess—which is at all limes bad, and some times dangerous—and to render it certain that the person so having recourse to polygamy was impelled by a real necessity, many stringent restrictions and binding regulations have been established such as the observance of perfect equality of rights and privileges, love and affection, among all wives etc etc. These restrictions and regulations materially serve to prevent truly pious and religious persons from indulging in polygamy, for they almost immediately discover that the availing themselves of this privilege, without fulfilling its conditions and observing its regulations, which are so strict as to be extremely difficult to be complied with, is incompatible with the due and faithful discharge of their religious duties. No doubt the institution of polygamy affords many facilities to the libertines, as well as to all whose sole object in life is the unrestrained gratification of their animal appetites but for this abuse of a beneficial institution they will be amenable to the great Searcher of human hearts, who will most assuredly mete out to them the punishments due to their offences.

We cannot allow to pass unnoticed the remarks of Mr. Higgins, and after him, those of Mr. Davenport, in favour of polygamy. It is to be regretted that both these gentlemen should have viewed polygamy from one point of view only—namely, a physiological one whereas our religion has granted this liberty not only from physiological considerations, but, as we have above stated, to afford a remedy for the embitterment of conjugal life. Mr. Davenport says,

> "With respect to the physiological reasons for polygamy, it has been observed by the celebrated Montesquieu that women are marriageable at eight, nine or ten years of age;— thus, in those countries, infancy and marriage almost always go together. They are old at twenty...it is, therefore, extremely natural that in these places a man, when no law opposes it, should leave one wife to take another and that polygamy should be introduced."

Mr. Higgins writes that "Biologists and natural philosophers have found other reasons which might serve as some apology for this allowance (Polygamy) which will not apply to us cold-blooded frog-like animals of northern climates though they may be applicable to the descendants of Ismael, natives of the scorching sands of the desert". Again he says,"I find it asserted in Oriental collections of Sir W. Ouselay, page 108, that "the warm regions of Asia make a difference between the sexes not known to the climate of Europe, where the decay of each is mutual and gradual; whereas in Asia, it is given to man alone to arrive at a green old age."If this be true, it goes far to excuse Mohammad in allowing a plurality of wives and it sufficiently accounts for the fact that Jesus never expressly declared himself upon this subject, but left it to the regulations of the governments of countries as it was evident that what would be proper for Asia would be improper for Europe. "Nor should we be justified in leaving out from our impartial consideration the deplorable morals that were in general practice before to the advent of Mohammad. Persia stood foremost in the corruption of her morals. Laws of marriage

were set aside. Respect and regard to relationship, however close or distinct, were not at all observed. A mother was as lawful to her son as a daughter to her father, or a sister to her brother; in fact, they may justly be compared to a flock of animals which are guided by no law whatever. When we turn our attention to a little north-west of Persia, a locality mostly inhabited by Jews, we find that, polygamy was a general practice, without any restrictions. Arabia, again afforded as perfect combination of the customs of Persians and Jews, where there was no end to the number of wives and where no law guided the people in their choice. All women, without any distinction of rank, age or relation, served alike to the brutal appetites of the male sex. When we look upon the Christianity of that age—if it can be called Christianity at all,—we see many of her professors pursuing a course diametrically opposite to the above mentioned one; we mean the somewhat general practice of celibacy. In short, amidst this mental and intellectual darkness, and the corruption and depravity of the manners and morals which enveloped the world on all sides, that Mohammad's genius codified a law so perfect in its nature, so consistent with the reason and propriety, so conducive to the health and prosperity of society, and so beneficial to the matrimonial existence of both the parties' interest.

Thirdly; when the subject is considered from a religious point of view, we find that polygamy is nowhere prohibited in Judaism and Christianity, which at present are, besides Islam, the only revealed religions in the world. For the support of our assertion we shall quote the remarks of a few eminent Christian authors in favour of polygamy. Higgins states: that "because Mohammad, following the example of the legislator of the oldest ceremonial religion west of the Euphrates, and, as all Christians maintain — Mosses— allowed his people, the descendants of Ismael, the son of the father of the faithful, a plurality of wives, he has been constantly abused by Christians, to use their own words for pandering to the base passions of the followers. But why the allowance of a plurality of wives should be visited with such very harsh censure, I do not

know. Surely, the examples of Solomon and David—the man after God's own heart, which He had found to fulfil His law—might plead for a little mercy, more especially as Jesus nowhere expressly forbids, in any one of the twenty Gospels which were written by some or other of the the multitude of his followers, to record his Commands." Davenport states, "As to the lawfulness of polygamy, it will be seen by refer-ring to the following passages in Scriptures, that it was not only approved, but even blessed by Jehovah himself :

Gen xxx, 22 Exodus xxi.II; Deut.xvii.17: I Sam.iv 1,2,11,20

Sam xxv. 42, 2 Sam xii. 8; 2 Sam. v 12 Judges viii.30 Judges x.4...

DIVORCE:

Considering the universality of the institution of marriage among all nations, both ancient and modern, and its general recognition as the basis of man's individual and social happiness, whatever tends to lessen its influence must never be regarded as a serious evil.

Hence the Church of Rome has thrown around marriage the halo of sanctity by making it one of her seven sacraments as the best means of its defence; while Protestant England, with the like view, made a decree for divorce— only attainable by a very expensive appeal to the House of Lords—an arrangement which lasted till the year 1856, when a new Court of Justice was created to take cognizance of all cases of divorce, and determine their merits by the verdict of a jury.

Generally speaking, divorce is the greatest enemies to society by diminishing the respect due to marriage and destroying man's confidence in woman's fidelity. It cannot, however, be denied the divorce has also its advantages; it releases either the husband or the wife whose incompatibility of disposition, violence of temper, or frailty, embittered the life of both. But while being thus a benefit to the individual,

divorce is not the less injurious to society by the scenes of immorality too often blazoned before the public, and also by the injurious effect which the separation of their parents must have upon the children of the parties. Such being the evils which follow in the train of divorce, having recourse to it as remedy can only be justified when its non-adoption would cause miseries still more unbearable, cares and anxieties still more annoying, and daily increasing animosities and mutual recriminations.

Our Prophet (p.b.u.h) neither underrated nor overvalued divorce. He constantly pointed out to his followers how opposed it was to the best interests of society; he always expatiated upon the evils which followed from it, and always exhorted his disciples to treat women with respect and kindness, and to bear patiently their violence and ill temper, and he always spoke of those who availed themselves of divorce in a severe and disparaging manner, so that many a person was led into the mistake that they who had recourse to divorce and they who shed human blood were guilty of crimes of equal atrocity. Notwithstanding, however, Mohammad's (p.b.u.h) rooted antipathy to divorce, he gave it the importance and consideration it justly claimed and merited. He allowed it under circumstances when it would not fail to prove a valuable boon; when it either entirely removed or at least greatly alleviated, the cares, troubles and embitterments of wedded life; and when, if not taken ad-vantage of, society will suffer still more than it already did. In such cases divorce is far from being a disadvantage of society; it is, on the contrary, a blessing and an efficient means of bettering the social conditions. Mohammad (p.b.u.h) did not restrict himself to merely allowing divorce to be adopted under certain circumstances; he permitted to divorced parties three several distinct and separate periods within which they might endeavour to become reconciled and renew their conjugal intercourse; but should their attempts to become reconciled prove unsuccessful, then the third period, in which a final separation was declared to have arrived, supervened.

Mahmood, son of Waheed, narrates a tradition that the Prophet (p.b.u.h) was apprised of a certain individual who had given to his wife three separate notices of divorce at one and the same time, and that then the Prophet (p.b.u.h), becoming exceedingly wrathful, addressed the party thus: "Darest thou trifle with the commands of God and that too in my presence?" Observing that the Prophet was greatly excited and angry, a person, approaching him, asked, shall I go and slay the offender? For by the wrath of the Prophet(P.B.U.H) he was erroneously led to suppose that the crime committed was grave enough to merit that severe punish-ment.

In like manner the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had said that, "a woman who demands divorce without strong and unavoidable necessity, will ever remain a stranger to the fragrance of paradise."The reader will find all these traditions expressly mentioned in Mishkat, in that Chapter appropriated to "Divorce".

Now it is still evident to every reflecting reader that the indulgence of divorce allowed by Islam under such cir-cumstances above specified, is not in the least repugnant to the laws of society, is greatly conducive to its health, prosperity and welfare.

SIR WILLIAM MUIR'S REMARKS THAT IN ISLAM "FREEDOM OF JUDGEMENT IN RELIGION IS CRUSHED AND ANNIHILATED"

Syed Ahmed says,:

Now, the precise import of this dictum of Sir William is very difficult to comprehend; for we are quite at a loss to find what it is in Islam that 'crushes and annihilates' `freedom of judgement in religious matters, and what there is in other religions that allow it.

The Jews, whose books form the basis of Christianity and Mohammadanism implicitly believe that every word of the

Old Testament, including the historical parts, not-withstanding the fact that the authors are unknown, is a revelation from high, and, therefore, infallible and that every person must, without the least hesitation or objection, and without making any use of his reasoning powers, put faith therein.

As for the Christians, they are divided into two classes as regards belief—those who believe in the 'plenary' inspiration of the Scriptures, and those who believe them to be only partially inspired—that later denying inspiration in the purely historical parts, and confining it to matters of doctrine, etc.

But independently of this modified belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, Christians are required to give their assent to two other indispensable articles of faith, which still more effectually 'crush and annihilate' freedom of judgement in religious matters, and therefore in this respect Christians are worse off than God's chosen people.

The first of these articles of belief is that of "Trinity in Unity and the Unity in Trinity" and a very particular one it is for the very word 'Trinity' was not introduced to express the three sacred persons of the Godhood until the second century after Christ, when Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, invented it, nor was the doctrine of Trinity settled until the council of Nicea, held three hundred and twenty five years after Christ, and at which the doctrine of Arius were condemned. Nor is this- all, for by the labours of Porson, and other eminent Greek scholars, it has been proved that the text —which is the sole authority for the doctrine—is an interpollation; therefore, if the merit of the belief is to be estimated in proportion its difficulty, great indeed must be that of Christians. Now, every person, before he can hear the name and enjoy the religious privileges of a Christian, must implicitly believe in this doctrine. All Christians declare that, notwithstanding this dogma is wholly opposed to nature and reason, it must be believed in, blindly and doggedly, all exercise of reason and judgement being interdicted.

The second principle, is the doctrine of the 'Sacrifice of Christ for the past, present and future sins of mankind' —a

doctrine alike antagonistic to nature and to reason and which "crushes and annihilates" freedom of judgement in religion." This doctrine, by doing away with man's responsibility, for his actions, open the floodgates of vice and immorality, since the greater and more numerous sins a person commits, the greater is the goodness of the Redeemer,— and hence the greater the sinner, the greater the saint. It must not be, however, supposed that, in consequence of this doctrine, Hell will be unpeopled and "their name is legion"—will occupy gloomy regions. Another article of the Christian faith, equally mischievous to society, is that of predestination; for should the believer in it be of a confident, hopeful disposition, he easily persuades himself that God has, from all eternity, inscribed his name in the Book of Life, and, therefore, were his crimes and sins as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore, they would not blot his name out of the page of salvation. if he be of a satur-nine-gloomy character, he feels confident that his name does not appear on the page of life, and, therefore he has no inducement to curb the evil propensities of his natural disposition.

With respect to Islam, it can be safely and confidently asserted that its nature is diametrically opposed to the remark of Sir William Muir, and, that, perhaps, there is no religion upon earth superior to it in respect of the liberty of judgement which it grants in matters of religious faith.

We shall here quote the following remark of a celebrated French author—M. de St. Hilaire—demonstrating as it does, that in support of own observations we can adduce as wit-nesses not only our co-religionists, but also liberal and judicious professors of other religions—nay, of Christianity itself:-

"There is nothing mysterious", writes the above named author, "nothing supernatural, in Mohammadanism, it is it-self averse to being concealed under any mask, nor is it to blame if a few obscurities are still to be found in it, for from its very origin it has been as candid and ingenuous as was, possible".

All the Mohammadan traditions are, according to Islam, open to the free judgement of every person, as well as for free inquiry and investigation, as regards the narrators and also the subject matter, and he is at liberty to reject entirely all such traditions which, according to his free and unbiased judgement, and after patient investigation, prove themselves to be contrary to reason and nature, or which, by any other way, are found to be spurious.

But we do not find any such liberty granted us as regards either the Old or the New Testament. Not even the grandest and the main principle of Islam—the existence of God and His unity—is inquired by that religion to be blindly and lavishly accepted by its professors. The Koran itself teaches and inculcates this sublime doctrine, not only by a compulsory iron hand, but by the arguments and appealing to nature. It first establishes the existence and unity of God by the existence of all objects in nature, and then requires us *to embrace that eternal truth. "Look over the world" says that Holy Book —"Is it wonderful, the work of Allah?—wholly a sign if your eyes were open: this earth, God made it for you ...appointed paths in it—you can live in it to and fro on it. Great clouds born in the deep bosom of the upp.er immensity—where do they come from? They hang there. The great black monsters pour down their rain-deluges to revive a dead earth; the grass springs, and tall leafy palm-trees, with their dark clusters hanging round. is it not that a sign? Your cattle, too—Allah made them,—serviceable dumb creatures, they change the grass into milk, you have your clothing from them. Very strange creatures, they come ranking home at evening time...and are a credit to you: Ships, also huge moving mountains; they spread out their wings—go bounding through the water there, heaven's wind driving them; anon, they lie motionless—God has withdrawn the wind— they lie dead and cannot stir: Miracies?..What miracle would you have? Are not you yourself there? God made you—shaped you out of a little clay: ye were small ones: a few years ago ye were not at all. Ye have beauty, strength, thoughts: Ye have compassion on one another. Old age comes on you, and grey hairs: your strength fades with

feebleness: ye sink down, and again are not. Ye have com-passion on one another..Allah might have made you having no compassion on one another..How had it been then?"The Koran is full of passages, like the above inculcating the worship of the Unity of God, both by argument and by a reference to Nature.

ISLAM WAS NOT SPREAD BY THE SWORD

The remarks that "the sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam," is one of the greatest charges falsely imputed to the faith by the professors of other religions, and arises from utter ignorance of those who make the accusation. Islam inculcates and demands a hearty and sincere belief in all that it teaches and that genuine faith which proceeds from a person's heart cannot be obtained by force or violence. Judicious will not fail to observe that the above quoted remark is entirely contrary to the fundamental principles of the Muslim faith, wherein it is inculcated, in the clearest language possible—"Let there be no forcing in religion, the right way has been made clearly distinguishable from the wrong one" (Chap.x 98) And also "If the Lord had pleased, all who arc on the earth would have believed together, and will thou force men to be believers? No man can believe but by the permission of God, and He will pour out His indignation on those who will not understand". (Chap.ii. 257).

According to Islam, the best and the most meritorious act is the preaching and making generally known the existence of One indivisible God. It could hardly be expected that in the infidel countries there could be sufficient personal security for such Muslims who might choose to inculcate by precept, exhort by preaching, and practice openly the worship of the unity of God, and, therefore, appeal was made at once to the sword in order to establish the superiority of Muslim power, and to insure security and tranquility for such Mohammadans as might choose to preach the wholesome doctrine of their faith, and to live in peace in those countries, so that their habits, conduct and manner of living might serve as example for the un

believers. The effect so desirable, viz that the Muslims might live in peace and preach the worship of the One only true God, was only attainable by one of three ways: First, the voluntary conversion of the people; Secondly: the establishment of peace and security by means of alliances, offensive and defensive; and, Thirdly, by conquest. As soon as the desired object was secured the sword was immediately sheathed. If tranquility was established by either of the last two methods the parties had no authority to interfere with the religious observances of the subjects of each other and every person was at liberty to observe, unmolested by anyone, all the ceremonies and rites, whatever they might be, of his creed.

TOLERATION:

The preceding observations likewise show clearly the gross mistake in which some writers have fallen, when they assert that in Islam, "toleration is unknown". But in saying this, we do not mean to deny that some of the later Mohammadan conquerors were guilty of cruelty and intolerance, but that the doctrines of our religion ought not to be judged from their actions. We mu ;t, however, inquire, in order to discover whether they a ;led according to it or not, and then we shall arrive at an amicable conclusion that their actions were in opposition to the doctrines of their religion. But at the same time, we find that those conquerors who were anxious to act according to doctrines of their religion did practice tolerance and granted amnesty and protection to all their subjects irrespective of caste or creed. History fur-nishes us with innumerable instances of the tolerance of Muslim conquerors and we shall here quote a few remarks made by various Christian writers which prove the tolerant spirit of Islam. A Christian writer, who of all others, is the least expected to show partiality towards Islam, in an article on the general History of Spain thus expresses himself:-

> "One remarkable feature," says he, "of their (the Ommiades of Spain) rule deserves mention, as it contrasts them as favourably with the contemporary

> and subsequent rulers of Spain, even to the present time (19th century) and that is their universal toleration".

Geofrey Higgins writes on the subject as follows:-

> "Nothing is so common as to hear the Christian priests abuse the religion of Mohammad for its bigotry and intolerance. Wonderful assurance and hypocrisy; Who was it who expelled the Moriseoes from Spain, because they would not turn Christians? who was it who murdered the millions of Mexico and Peru, and gave them all away as slaves because they were not Christians? What a contrast have the Mohammadans exhibited in Greece! For many cen-turies the Christians have been permitted to live in the peaceable possession of their properties, their priests, patriarchcs and Churches, and at present moment the war between the Turks and Greeks is no more waged on account of religion than that was the late war between Negroes in Damercra and the English. The Greeks and the Negroes went to throw off the yoke of their conquerors, and they are both justified in so doing. Wherever the Caliphs con-quered, if the inhabitants turned Mohammadans, they were instantly on a footing of perfect equality with the .conquerors. An ingenuous and learned dis-senter, speaking of the Saracens, says, "they per-secuted nobody! Jews and Christians all lived happily among them."

But though we are told that the Saracens were banished, because they would not turn Christians, 1 suspect they, by their arguments so gained upon the Christians, that the ignorant monks thought that the only way their arguments could be answered was by inquisition, and the sword, and, have no doubt they were right as far as their wretched powers of answering them extended. In the countries con-quered by the Caliphs, the peaceable inhabitants, whether Greeks, Persians, Sabeans or Hindus were not put to the

sword as the Christians have represented; but after the conquest was terminated, were left in peaceable possessions of their properties and religion, paying a tax for the enjoyment of this later privilege, so trifling as to be oppression to none. In all the history of the Caliphs, there cannot be shown anything half so infamous, as the inquisition, nor a single instance of an individual burnt for his religious opinions, nor, do I believe, put to death in a time of peace for simply not embracing the religion of Islam. No doubt the later Mohammadan conquerors in their expeditions have been guilty of great cruelties these Christian but have sedulously laid to the charge of their religion but this is not just. Assuredly, religious bigotry increased the evils of war, but in this the Mohammadan conquerors were not worse than the Christian.

The same author remarks that "the exertions of the missionaries of the Christians, though evidently allowed the greatest latitude, do not appear to have had any great success. I have some doubts as to what would happen, even in this enlightened age, as it calls itself, if the Grand Seignior were to ,send (as our missionaries did send Mr. Drummond to Geneva, to teach their peculiar doctrines) one of the richest Mufties to build a mosque and to preach the doctrines of the Koran in the centre of London. I suspect a well grounded fear that this would cause a renewal, under the auspices of the priests, of the fires of the year eighty, or of those of more recent date of Birmingham, would cause our ministers to answer him by the mouth of our admirals, who might entertain an opinion that it was possible to bom-bard Constantinople.

JOHN DAVENPORT, in his 'Apology' writes in the following strain:-

"It was at the Council of Nicea that Christians invested the priesthood with that power whence flowed the most disastrous consequences, as the following summary will show. The massacres and devastations of nine mad Crusades of Christians against the unoffending Turks, during nearly two

hundred years, in which many millions of human beings perished: The massacres of the Anabaptists; the massacres of the Lutherians and Papists, from the Rhine to the extremities of the North, the Massacres ordered by Henry VIII and his daughter Mary; the massacres of St. Bartholomev in France, and forty years more of other massacres between the time of Inquisition, which are more execrable still, as being judiciously committed, to say nothing of the in-numerable schisms, and twenty years of Popes against Popes, Bishops against Bishops, the poisoning, assassinations; the cruel rapines and insolent pretensions of more than a dozen Popes, who far exceeded a Nero or a Caligula in every species of crime, vice and wickedness; and lastly, to conclude its frightful list, the massacres of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the New World, executed crucifix in hand; It surely must be confessed that so hideous and almost uninterrupted a chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians, and that none of the numerous nations stigmatized as heathen, ever spilled a drop of blood on the score of theological argument.

The celebrated Mr. Gibbons, the greatest of the modern historians and whose authority cannot be questioned, writes as follows:-

"The wars of the Mohammedans were sanctioned by the Prophet, but among the various precepts and examples of his life, the Caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelieving, Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the other nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolators who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated, but a wise policy supplied the obligations of justice, and, after some acts of tolerant zeal, the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindustan have spared the pagodas of the devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mohammed, but if they preferred payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship."

The author of an article, entitled 'Islam as a political system' inserted in 'The East and the West' thus expresses himself on the subject under consideration:-

> "Mahomet was the only founder of a religion who was at the same time a temporal prince and a warrior. Their power lay exclusively in restraining violence and ambition; his temptation was ambition and the sword was at his disposal. It is therefore to be expected that, making religion a means to temporal power, and having obtained that sway over the minds of his followers by way which they accepted as law and right whatever he chose to promulgate, his code should be found at variance with all others, and even in opposition to those dictates of justice which are implanted in the breasts of all men. If, then, we find that it is not so, if we find him establishing maxims of right in international dealings, of clemency in the use of victory, moderation in that of power, above all, of toleration in religion, we must acknowledge that, amongst men who have run a distinguished course, he possesses peculiar claim to the admiration of his fellow creatures". "Again', he says,"Islam has never interfered with the dogmas of any faith, never perkcuted, never established an Inquisition, never aimed at proselytism. it offered its religion, but never enforced, it, and the acceptance of that religion conferred co-equal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished states from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed, up to the period of Mohomet, has invariably imposed, For its proselytes there was no obligation and denial and revilement of their former creed; the repetition of a single phrase was the only form required or pledge exacted.

"A spirit the very reverse of this (intolerance) “ remarks the same author; "is evieneed in every page of history of Islam, in every country to which it has extended, so that in

Palestine, a Christian poet (Lamartine) has exclaimed, twelve centuries after the events to which we are referring. 'The Mohommetans are the only tolerant people on the face of the earth" "and an English traveller (Slade) reproaches them with being too tolerant." What a contrast do these remarks of so many impartial and liberal Christian writers afford to the unsupported assertion of Sir William Muir 'Toleration is unknown in Islam'.

ON THE ADVANTAGES DERIVED BY

HUMAN SOCIETY IN GENERAL FROM

ISLAM

The following remark, coming as it does from Sir William Muir, is more valuable, as being the deposition of, by no means, a willing witness:-

> "And what have been the effects" asks that author, "of the system which established by such instrumentality, Mohommet has left behind him? We may freely concede that it banished, for ever, many of the darker elements of superstition which had for ages shrouded the peninsula. idolatry vanished is before the battle cry of Islam. The doctrine of the unity and infinite perfections of God and of a special, all-prevading Providence became a living principle in the hearts and lives of the followers of Mohommet, even as it had in his own, and absolute surrender and submissions to the divine will (the very name of Islam) was demanded as the first requirement of the religion. Nor or social virtues wanting. Brotherly love is inculcated within the circle of the faith. Orphans are to be protected, and slaves treated with consideration. Intoxicating drinks are prohibited, and Mohammedanism may boast of a day of temperance unknown to any other created"

Foot Note by Syed Ahmed Khan

1. Islam entirely rooted out idolatry from Arabia and brought home to all other creeds that were at that time prevalent in the world the notion that idolatry was a grave sin.

2. Not only "within the circle of the faith" but to all beings, whose hearts, to use the phrase of the Hadees, "Are fresh with life."

3. Virtually speaking, Islam almost abolished slavery, for in no case is it allowed, except in that of war captives, and that also, with the benevolent intention of saving their lives; persons who give them their liberty are entitled to the highest degree of reward; those who ransom their lives stand next in the order of meritoriousness; and those who keep them as slaves must maintain them in the same style of living as they do themselves.

4. To these excellent injunctions Sir William might have added: the prohibition of all games of chance; the abstaining from the use of indecent words and expressions, love and reverence for parents; compulsory alms; and kind treatment of animals etc.

When dwelling upon the subject of Mohammad's "Merit towards his country" the celebrated historian, Gibbon, remarks:-

> "His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mohammed. The most bitter and or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. he piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of their prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of

> Arabia, were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims were expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable and innocent arts of devotion, and the rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mohomet, was, perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his countrymen, but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practices of social virtues, and checked by his laws and precepts the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy."

Mr. Davenport, in his admirable "Apology for Mohommed and the Koran" observes as follows :-

> "It is a monstrous error to suppose as some have done, and others still do, that the faith taught by the Koran was propagated by the sword alone, for it will be readily admitted, by all unprejudiced minds, that Mohommad's religion by which prayers alms were substituted for the blood of human victims, and which, instead of hostility and perpetual feuds, breathed a spirit of benevolence and of the social virtues, and must, therefore, have had an important influence upon civilization—was a real blessing to the Eastern world, and, consequently, could not have needed exclusively the sanguinary means so unsparingly and so unscrupulously used by Moses for the extirpation of idolatry."
>
> How idle and ridiculous was it, therefore, to bestow nothing but insolent opprobrium and ignorant declamation upon one of the most powerful instruments which the hand of Providence has raised up to influence the opinions and doctrines of mankind

> through a long succession of ages. The whole subject, whether viewed with relation to the extraordinary rise and progress either of the founder personally, or the system itself, cannot be otherwise than one of the deepest interest, nor can there be any doubt but that, of those who have investigated and considered the comparative merits of Mohammadanism and Christianity, there are few who have not at times felt confounded at the survey, and been compelled not only to admit that even the former must have been ordained for many wise and beneficent purposes, but even to confide in its instrumentality in the production, at least, of much eventual good.

The same author goes on to remark that:-

> "The first revivers of philosophy and the sciences, the link, as they have been termed, between ancient and modern literature, were most undoubtedly, ac-cording to every species of testimony, the Saracens of Asia and the Moors of Spain, under the Abbasides and Ommiade Caliphs. Letters originally came to Europe from the East were brought thither, a second time, by the genius of Mohammadanism. It is well known that arts and sciences flourished among the Arabians for almost six hundred years; whilst among us rude barbarians reigned, and literature became almost extinct...and again, it must be owned, that all the knowledge, whether of Physics, Astronomy, Philosophy or Mathematics which flourished in Europe from the tenth century, was originally derived from the Arabian schools; and the Spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European Philosophy". Says the same author, "Europe is still further indebted to Mohammadanism; for, not to mention due to the struggles during the Crusades, we mainly owe the abolition of the onerous parts of the feudal system, and the destruction of those aris-

> tocratic despotisms on the ruin of. which rose the proudest bulwark of our liberties. Europe is to be reminded that she is indebted to the followers of Mohammed, as the link which connects ancient and modern literature, for the preservation, during the long reign of Western darkness, of the works of the many of the great philosophers, and for the cultivation of some of the most important branches of sciences, mathematics, medicine etc which are highly indebted to their labours".

The writer of an excellent article upon Mohammadanism in Chamber's Encyclopaedia observes as follows:-

> "That part of Islam, however, which has undergone the least change in the course of time, and which most distinctly reveals the mind of its author, is also its most complete and most shining part we mean the ethics of the Koran. Injustice, falsehood, pride, revengefulness, calumny, mockery, avarice, prodigality, debauchery, mistrust and suspicion are inveighed against as ungodly and wicked while benevolence, liberality, modesty, forbearance, patience and endurance, frugality, sincerity, straightforwardness, decency, love of peace and truth, and, above all, trusting in God and submitting to His will are considered as the pillars of true piety and the principal signs of a true believer." The same writer goes on to remark:
>
> "We cannot consider in this place what Islam has done for the cause of all humanity, or, more exactly, what was its precise share in the development of science and art in Europe; broadly speaking, the Mohammadans may be said to have been the en-lightened teachers of the barbarous Europe, from the ninth to the thirteenth century. It is from the glorious days of Abbaside rulers that real renaissance of Greek spirit and Greek culture is to be dated. Classical literature would have been ir-

remediably lost had it not been for the home it found in the schools of the 'unbelievers' of the 'dark ages'—Arabic philosophy, medicine, natural history, geography, history, grammar, rhetoric and the golden art of poetry schooled by the Hellenic masters brought forth an abundant harvest of works, many of which will live and teach as long as there will be the generations to be taught.

The writer of an essay, entitled, "Islam as a Political System" inserted in the 'East and West' enumerates in the following passage the 'advantages that human society derived from Islam':

"Islam put an end to infanticide, then prevalent in the surrounding countries. Christianity might have equally opposed, but was not equally successful. It put an end to slavery. it gave equality of political rights and administered even-handed justice, not only to those who professed its religion but to those who were conquered by its arms. it reduced taxation, the tribute to the State, consisting of the tenth., it freed Commerce from all charges and impediments; it freed the professors of other faiths from all forced contributions to their clergy, and from all religious contributions whatsoever to the dominant creed. it communicated all the privileges of the conquering class to those of the conquered who conformed to its religion, and all the protection of citizenship to those who did not. it secured property, abolished usury, and the private revenge of blood. it inculcated cleanliness and sobriety; it did not inculcate them only but it produced and established them. It put an end to licentiousness, and associated with charity to the poor the forms of respect for all".

"The results produced by Islam", continues the same ' writer,

"seem too vast, too profound, too permanent, to allow us to believe that the human mind could anticipate them, far less adjust the scheme: thence the disposition to take refuge in chance, or Providential design instead of applying to it the process of reasoning by which we estimate the effects of the laws of Solomon or the triumphs of Timoleon. nevertheless, this scheme was framed by a single man, who filled with his own spirit those who were in immediate contact with him, and impressed a whole people with the profound veneration of which man ever was the object. The system of laws and morals which he formed agreed equally with the highest development as with the lowest level of society, which during ten centuries, passing from race to race, made every people by whom it was received superior to, and triumphant over the nations and the empires with which they came in contact."

THOMAS CARLYLE, in his "Lectures on Heroes" remarks on the subject under consideration as follows :-

"To the Arab Nation it (Islam) was a birth from darkness into light; Arabia became alive by means of it. A poor shepherd people, roaming unnoticed in its deserts since the creation of the word; A Hero-Prophet was sent down to them with a word they could believe; see, the unnoticed become world-notable, the small has grown world-great; within one century afterwards, Arabia is at Granada on this hand, at Delhi on that;—glancing in valour splendour and the light of genius, Arabia shines through long ages over a great section of the world. belief is great, life-giving. The history of a Nation becomes fruitful, soul-elevating, great, so soon as it believes. These Arabs, the man Mohomet, and that one century,—is it not as if a spark had fallen, one

spark, on a world of what seemed black unnoticeable sand; but lo! the sand proves explosive powder, blazes heaven-high from Delhi to Granada.

SLAVERY

One of the gravest charges which has been brought against Islam, and which is represented to be hostile to the laws of society, is the lawfulness of slavery. We say "hostile to the laws of society," since, on viewing the subject through a religious medium, neither Jews nor Christians can be bold enough to find fault with or subject to it since almost every page of the Old Testament teem with passages which admit the legality of slavery, and since there is nowhere to be found in the New one of single passage that forbids the same inhuman practice. Before making any remarks of our own upon this subject, we shall quote the following remarks of Godfrey Higgins:

> "It seems unfortunate for the cause of humanity that neither Jesus nor Mohammed should have thought it right to abolish slavery. It may be said that when they directed their proselytes to do to others as they would be done unto, they virtually abolished it. This is plausible, but unfortunately it is not in practice true. The domestic slavery of the Mohammadans is no doubt indefensible, but what is this compared to the cruelty and horrors of the African slave trade, and the plantations of the West Indies? We hear enough in all conscience of Popes of Rome and Archbishops of Canterbury, of Councils and Con-vocations of Bulls, Articles, Canons, and Concords; but when did we ever hear of any public act of these men against this horrible traffic? Show me the Bull, show me the Canon of Act of Convocation. The Bishps of Rome and Canterbury themselves deserve the epithet of 'panders to the base passions of their followers' which they give to Mohammed, for not having, when the atrocity of this traffic was

clearly proved excommunicated all those engaged in carrying it on, as was done by the Quakers". "I am aware that they may make a plausible defence, by alleging that they cannot excommunicate a man for the fact of being the owner of slaves, because the legality of slavery is admitted in almost every page of the Gospels and Epistles; as wherever the word servus is found and translated servant, the word ought to be `slave'— the word servus literally meaning a person bought or sold in a market, the freedman answering to our hired servant. But if domestic slavery be unfortunately allowed to Chris-tians, it by no means follows that the African slave trade is allowed, the horrors of which could never have been suspected by the ancients, and which in every respect differs from their domestic slavery.

Although the Prophet did not, as he ought to have done, abolish that horrid custom, he did not leave it altogether unnoticed, but, in declaring that all Mohammedans are brothers, and that no man should hold his brother in slavery, he at once liberated a vast mass of mankind. The moment a slave declares himself a believer he is free. Although Mohammed did not in this go so far as he ought to have done, yet he did something, and that was better than nothing, and while it has probably induced some to avow themselves proselytes without conviction (on which account it will be reprobated and attributed to a bad motive by the pious Christian, whose zeal is warmed by a live coal from off the altar), yet it has saved from misery millions upon millions. Another modification of slavery, or alleviation of its evils, is to be found in the ordinance, that in the sale of slaves the mother shall on no account be separated from the children—a crime committed by our West Indians every day. I have not observed any ordinance of this kind in the Gospels; therefore, Mohammad did not copy it from them.

We make many professions of a wish to convert the poor Negroes; I advise our Missionary Societies to use their enormous wealth in giving the Negroes their freedom as soon as converted, declaring them brothers, after the example of the Mohammadans. I can assure them that this will make more proselytes than all their sermons".

The Westminster Review says, His law of slavery is, if slaves come to you, you shall—not imprison and sell them by public sale, though no claimant appears, as in the nineteenth century is the law of Christian England in her provinces, but "redeem them, — and it is forbidden to you to send them forth. And this was a man standing up in the wilds of Arabia in the seventh century.

Mohammed says, "Unto such of your slaves as desire a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum, write on; and if ye know good in them, give them of the riches of God which he hath given you." I have not found this in the Gospels."

With all due thanks to that learned author for his talented and warm defence of Islam, we would observe that, to his remarks.

"Another modification of slavery, alleviation of its evils, is to be found in the of Jinanee, that in the sale of slaves the mother on no account shall be separated from the children," may be added several ordinances which were equally well suited for the "modification of slavery" and "the alleviation of its evils". The following ordinance greatly contributes to the abolition of slavery;

> "All persons in your possession are your brothers, both of you being of one human race; therefore, treat them with kindness, feed them and clothe them in the same manner as you do yourself".

The above ordinance produced so much effect upon the minds of the people, that all persons in former times clothed their slaves with the same cloth which they themselves wore, allowed them to sit along with themselves at the same table

to partake of the same foods as they aid, and when on a journey the master and the slave, used to ride on the same camel and walk by turns.

In his splendid Caliphate, Omer, consider him as you may, — either as a successor of the Prophet, or as the monarch of the greatest empire in the world—used to lead, by the nose-string, in the burning sands and scorching wind, with mingled emotions of delight and self-approval, the camel mounted by his slave, whose turn it was to ride. Fatimah, the Prophet's daughter, used to sit with her female slaves, and grind wheat together, so that the labour and trouble might fall equally on both. If this be the slavery which Sir William Muir represents as disorganising society, "we cannot conceive what equality of rights would be. Such a slavery, indeed— if slavery it can be called at all—would highly organise society and improve public morals. The Prophet went further, and ordered that no one should ad-dress his male or female slaves by that degrading appellation, but by the more decent as well as affectionate name of 'My young man' or 'My young maid'. According to his order, no act upon earth is more meritorious, more deserv-ing of God's favour and blessing, than the granting of liberty to slaves; and Mohammed concentrated his chief pleasure in this. All the above will be found in Bokharec, in the Chapter devoted to the freedom of slaves. To the remark of Mr. Higgins that"it is unfortunate for the cause of humanity that neither Jesus nor Mohammed should have thought it right to abolish slavery, "we wish to add that Mohommed did almost entirely abolish slavery".

CONFESSION OF SYED AHMED —WHAT HE BELIEVED

(13) "Listen, My dear fellow", he wrote in a letter dated 21st January 1870 to Mahdi Ali :-

> "The time has come when I must no longer hide my secret thoughts. I say it plainly that, if people do not give up blind conformity, if they do not specially

seek the light which comes from the Koran and the Hadith, and if they do not place themselves in a position where they can meet the challenge offered to religion by modern learning, then Islam will disappear from India. It is this realisation which has activated me into all kinds of researches in defiance of blind acceptance. otherwise, so far as remaining a Muslim and ensuring my entry into paradise are concerned, you know very well that I consider it enough to follow even Maulvi Habbu, not to speak of the great Imams. Uttering the Muslim declaration of faith, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is God's messanger" is by itself a purification which puts an end to all impurities, therefore, want it to be proved to me by argument and discussion whether this opinion of mine is right or wrong and whether I am an enemy of Islam or a friend of it in the same way as Hazrat Abu Bakar and Hazrat Umar were its friend—I who hold Islam dearer than Abu Hanifa and Shafi did, I who believe that supposing that even if Hazrat Abu Bakar and Hazrat Umar, not to speak of Abu Hanifa and Shafi, were to commit some sort of error about Islam, this would not detract one with from Islam's truth. I whose faith it is that, if the whole world were to become infidel or if, on the contrary, the whole world to become peopled with Angels, there would be no loss or gain in God's divinity. This last proposition is equally true of Islam, no matter whether all the authorities were right or wrong, the light of true Islam would shine neither more nor less brightly."

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Chapter 4

THE MUHAMMADAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE, ALIGARH

Syed Ahmed returned from England on 2nd October 1870 after an eventful stay of one year and five months. Every moment of his life in England was buzzing with intellectual activity and the brief but memorable period was meticulously spent in the service of Islam and his people. It was his first and last visit to England. It had opened to him the vista of a whole new world of ideas in education and a vivid glimpse of the Western civilization. He had seen at first hand the marvels of modern science and technology and the miracle wrought by the industrial revolution in England and France. As a keen observer, he did not fail to take particular notice of the quality of life, culture and civilization, the virility and vitality of the European nations. Syed Ahmed's activities in England, in essence, were of keen observation, learning and probing. He moved in high society, mixing with men like Lord Lawrence, former Viceroy of India, the Duke of Argyl, then Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley of Alderly,

the British Ambassador to Turkey, and Sir John Kay; Under Secretary of State for India. Among the intellectual celebrities whom he met was Thomas Carlyle with whom he had a long conversation about 'Heroes and Hero Worship' (then in press) and especially about what Carlyle had written about the Prophet. He saw races at Derby in the company of Graham. He was twice elected an honorary member of London's most select Club, — the Athenaeum Club. He at tended a dinner given by Smeatonian Society of Engineer& He looked at everything from the angle of an educator. He was convinced from what all he had seen that it is the moral fibre of the people which makes nations great. He sadly contrasted in his mind the state of backwardness of his own people which was distressing him. The fruits of the rich experiences he gathered from his visit to England, he passed on to his people with exuberance.

During the decade from 1858 to 1868 Syed Ahmed could not formulate any firm programme for social reform and education of the Muslim community. He was largely occupied with his programme of conciliation and forging unity with the Hindus in the larger interest of the people of India of which the Muslims formed part and parcel. The question of language and script loomed large and started driving a wedge between the two communities so much so that the chances of bridging the gulf grew dimmer and dimmer. The tide of aggressive Hindu national resurgence was gaining momentum and it was no longer possible for the Muslims to remain complacent. Before the fall of Mughal empire the state took care to protect the interests of Muslims but under the British it became imperative for the Muslims to take care of themselves. The British rulers displayed a growing tendency of benevolent leaning towards the Hindus and looked upon the Muslims with unconcealed hostility. Syed Ahmed was not a visionary; he was a pragmatist. Expressing his forebodings of the future—a grim future, in a letter dated 29th April 1870 from London, he wrote to his friend and colleague, Mahdi (Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk):-

[1] "I have learnt another news which has caused me so much grief and anxiety. At Babu Shiv Prasad's instigation, Hindus have generally resolved to do away with the Urdu language and Persian script, which is a memento of the Muslim rule in this country. I have heard that they have moved the Hindu members of the Scientific Society to see Hindi should replace Urdu in the newspapers as well as books published by the Society. This is a proposal which will make-Hindu-Muslim unity impossible. Muslims will never agree to Hindi, and if Hindus, also following--the new move, insist on Hindi, they also will not agree to Urdu. The result will be that the Hindus and Muslims will be completely separated."

Writing about Muslims, Syed Ahmed proceeded:-

"One objection is from my own temperament, which is keen for the welfare of all Indians—Hindus as well as Muslims—and the other fear is that at present the Muslims are under a cloud of ill-luck and adversity; They are under the influence of false and meaningless prejudices, and do not understand their own welfare. In addition, they are more jealous of each other and more vindictive than the Hindus and suffer much more from a sense of false pride. I fear that they may not be able to do much for themselves."

The opinion so candidly expressed factually portrayed the state of Muslims mind and the perils that may overtake them due to their own folly.

Even before leaving for England in 1869 April, Syed Ahmed had made up his mind and had resolved to work solely for the emancipation of his own people,—the Muslim community. Now he threw himself heart and soul in the great task of the Muslim national uplift. His return from England in November 1870 marks the beginning of his active role as an educationist, a social reformer, as the father of

Muslim renaissance and father of modernism in Islam in India. While in England, he visited Cambridge and made a detailed study of the university and its system of education. He decided to choose a similar pattern. His goal was to make available the highest education under the most con-genial conditions and to build up a cadre of competent scholars, able to help the onward progress of the Muslim nation. He conceived the project while he was still in England and his goal was to establish, a Muslim university exactly modelled on Oxford and Cambridge universities. Founding a university overnight is impossible. It has got to proceed stage by stage necessarily. Syed Ahmed, (now Sir Syed Ahmed, knighted in August 1869), was still a Government servant. He was not rich; he had mortgaged his bungalow before sailing to England. Therefore, planning and funding the project was an enormous task. Syed Ahmed was no visionary; he was a thoroughly practical man possessed of indomitable will and energy who knew how to implement the project. He was systematic, methodical and democratic in his approach.

EVALUATION OF MUSLIM PUBLIC OPINION

Early in 1869—before leaving for England he had the Fund Committee registered in the name of Muslim University. As soon as he landed In the Indian soil in November 1870 he brought out the first issue of `Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq' on 24th December 1870 and formed a Committee for The Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Mohammedans of India (2)—In short, 'The Committee for the Educational Advancement of Muslims' was, required to:-

i. determine the Muslim reasons for ignoring the study of Western sciences.
ii. ascertain objectively the reasons why the Muslims did not take .advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the British Government.

iii. recommend remedial action for eliminating the Muslims objections and the government obstacles in the educational system.

Essays were invited and cash awards for the first, second and third best essays to be awarded cash prizes—Rs. 500/-300/- and 150/-. For cash awards a sum of Rs. 1102/- were collected in Dec. 1870. The essays were to be scrutinised by a 19-member Selection Committee presided by Maulvi Fari-ud-Din. Sir Syed Ahmed was elected Secretary.
(32) Essays were received. The essay adjudged to he the best one was the one submitted by Mahdi Ali (Nawab Mohsen-ul-Mulk)
(3) All the essayists attacked the modern educational sys-tem for generating hostility of Muslim public opinion. Commenting on all the objections, the Select Committee spotlighted some points:

a. concerning the teaching of history: `Tarikh-i-Aina-i-Numa', originally written by Babu Shiva Prasad, an official of the Education Department (— a descend-ent of the Marwari banker Jagat Prasad who conspired with Clive and Mir Jaffar to topple Siraj-ud-Daula) 'was cordially hated by all' Muslims but was taught in schools and colleges. Syed Ahmed took up the case with the Government of India.

b. The Committee recommended that the management should not be exclusively controlled by the Govern-ment; the Government should transfer all authority to the general public of India.

The Fund Committee submitted a petition to the Government of India in Feb 1873 to charter a Non-denominational but Muslim UNIVERSITY at Aligarh.The Secretary to the North West Provinces held that the Government forbade the use of word 'University' to discourage the idea of independence or rivalry with Calcutta University. Therefore, under advice of the Secretary, the name was changed to:

MUHAMMADAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE ALIGARH. 75 Acres of land for the College Campus at Aligarh was finally donated by Sir John Strachey, Governor of North West Provinces on 6th January 1875. In May 1875 a High School was started at Aligarh with 11 students. On 8th January 1877 Viceroy, Lord Lytton, laid the foundation stone of the first building in the College Campus.
Estimated cost of the project was 150,000/-. By Oct 1874 the Fund Committee had received rupees 200,000/- and as-sets of Rs. 325,000/- It remained affiliated to Calcutta University until the founding of Allahabad University in 1888. These were some of the salient points relating to the M.A.O. College.
While submitting the petition for a charter for Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, Syed Ahmed submitted a separate report elaborating the scheme which combines in itself modern secular education along with Muslim religious education so as to enable the Muslims to preserve their ancient learning, to profit from modern arts and sciences and to impart to their children an education adequate to meet their spiritual and material needs and towards this end it had become necessary to devise an educational system of their own. The report elicited a favourable response and promises of support to the secular side. On 12 May 1872, yet another Committee called 'The Mohammedan Anglo Orental College Fund Committee' was appointed. Sir Syed Ahmed made extensive country wide tours for the purpose of collecting funds and it was another exercise in mobilising the Muslims for a common purpose. The tours were successful in spite of the wicked character assassination campaign of calumny by the Ulema who obtained a Fatwa from the jurists of Mecca that "In this case no assistance is allowable to the institution. May God destroy it and his founder. No Mohammedan is allowed to give assistance to or countenance the establishment of such an institution. It is, moreover, the duty of the faithful to destroy it, if it be established, and to chastise to the utmost those who are friendly to it."Undeterred and undaunted, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan carried on his mission to a successful conclusion. Personal donations

poured in from Hindu, Mohammedan and European gentry, Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, Syed Ahmed's literary adversaries, Sir William Muir and W.W. Hunter and many others.

FOUNDATION STONE OF THE FIRST BUILDING IN THE M.A.O. COLLEGE COMPLEX LAID BY LORD LYTTON, VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL ON 8TH JANUARY 1877

In reply to the address presented, Lord Lytton replied:-

(4) "Gentlemen,

> I cannot doubt that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule, which is no less creditable to the past than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that I have been able to take part in it, and I cordially reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the address with which you have greeted me. Your regretful acknowledgement of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Mohammedan com-munity in India attests the sincerity, and enhances the value of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties. The well-known vigour of the Mohammedan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, Gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted. I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulder

to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just and recognised claim to such assistance as it may, from time to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education. This I promise you, and I promise it the more willingly, because the whole tone of your address assures me that my promise, instead of inducing you to relax the efforts you are now making, will encourage your per-severance in the prosecution and extension of them. You have observed, in the course of the address, that by the Mohammedan race its religion is regarded "not merely as- a matter of secular concerns of life." Gentlemen, I conceive this to be the true spirit of -all- sincere religious belief; for the guidance of human conduct in relation to all the duties of life is the proposed object of every religion whatever the name and whatever the form of it. But you will, I am sure, be the last to admit that any-thing in the creed of Islam is incompatible with the highest forms of intellectual culture. The greatest and most enduring conquest of the Mohammedan races have all been achieved in the field of science, literature, and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of this continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian Peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics and philosophy, far in advance of all contemporary science; and to this day the population of Spain and Portugal, for their very sustenance, are mainly de-pendent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. But Providence has not confided to any single race a permanent initiative in the direction of human thought or the development of social life. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to

repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. It is to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must now look for the social and political progress of this Indian empire; and it is in the absorption of those ideas and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Mohammedans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition. Gentlemen, when the printing press was first discovered, a certain monk predicted that unless that dangerous innovation were immediately suppressed, it would soon put an end to the power of every Government. Because, he said, "so much lead would be used up in the making of type, that none would be left for the making of bullets." That prediction, as we all know, has not been verified. Government still find it necessary to make bullets, and still find lead enough to make them. But for the maintenance of that dominion to which the British Government most aspires, the printing press is an instrument quite as powerful as the cannon. Allow me therefore to indicate, in passing, one special reason for the satisfaction with which I welcome the establishment of this college. There is no object which the Government of India has more closely at heart than that the plain principles of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the humblest. But for my own part, I cannot anticipate the complete attainment of this object until the precepts of the English policy have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of speech but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking, it is obvious that a body of cultivated natives is better fitted than twice the number of British officials, or twenty times the number of European scholars; and I can truly say that those who succeed in such an undertaking will have there-by rendered not only to the Government, but also to all their countrymen, a service that cannot he too

highly appreciated. Therefore, while warmly sympathising with you in my appreciation of the difficulties you have encountered, and thus far successfully overcome, and whilst cordially congratulating you on the success with which you have overcome them, I welcome that success, not for your sake only, but for the sake of the whole empire—trusting it may prove a salutary incentive to similar efforts in other directions for the general diffusion, not merely of intellectual culture, but what is still more important, the appreciation of intellectual culture throughout India. You have referred to the exertions made by Government to stimulate such voluntary efforts. I am glad to recognise in the creation of this institution a proof that the exertions have not been in vain; but I need hardly remind you that neither in the matter of education, nor anything else, can the Government undertake to provide an artificial supp-ly for which there is no national demand. Your address has rightly given prominent notice to the assistance you have received in the promotion of this college from many influential personages not within the pale of your community. The fact is full of promise and encouragement, for it indicates that others as well as yourselves are alive to the importance of the cause you represent, and recognise in the attainments of the objects you have set before you a general benefit confined to no class or creed of the community. In graceful recognition of the sympathy and aid received from those whose race and religion differ from your own, you have resolved to associate with the endowment and construction of your college the names of some of its most eminent benefactors. You could not have selected names of more worthy of such lasting recognition than those of my distinguished predecessor, Lord Northbrook, and my valued colleagues, Sir William Muir and Sir John Strachey—statesmen whose sympathies have always been in accordance with the object you have at heart, and whose labours have

done so much to render possible the attainment of it. It is with great pleasure that I accept your flattering offer to associate my own name with names already so illustrious. A library is the best society to which any man could be admitted; for it is an assemblage of the world's greatest benefactors—the wise and good of all ages—here live those who are worthy to live; and I esteem it a privilege to lay the foundation of a building under whose sheltering roof the number of such worthies is likely to increase. In doing so, I heartily wish God-speed to your selves, your college, and your cause."

Some interesting excerpts from `Syed Ahmed Khan' by M. Hadi Hussain, arc quoted below:-

[5] "The life's mission of Syed Ahmed in regard to the Muslims of India, such as it was in the cir-cumstances of his time, could not have been summed up in any better words. This was Syed Ahmed, as it were, through the mouth of his son, for this was exactly what he would have said in English, had he been able to express himself in that language.... "Only give this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of -education" said Lord Lytton. "This was, again, Syed Ahmed speaking,—speaking through the mouth of the British Viceroy, in the sense that, had it been he who was speaking in that capacity, he would have spoken the same thing exactly. It must have gladdened his heart to hear that said publicly by the Viceroy. Nearly a decade passed; another high -British official had characterised. Islam as the antithesis of civilization. Syed Ahmed's efforts at teaching -the British to under-stand and respect -Islam had, after all, not been in vain. It however, remained for the Muslims to profit from the change of heart on the part of the British which he had helped to bring about would they be

upto it ? that was the question that now faced him in all its concrete reality. He had the foundation stone of the college laid by the highest authority in the land. How far would funds be available to complete the construction of its buildings? and when the buildings had been constructed, how far would the students he available to occupy them? The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was not the end, but the beginning of Syed Ahmed's real difficulties. While, on one hand, it increased the urgency of his going ahead with the project, on the other, it intensified the opposition to it".

Syed Ahmed tried to remove the doubts and misgivings and fallacies spread by the conservative and reactionary ulema. He Said:-

(6)"The religious books that will be selected for being taught in the college will be those commonly accepted by the Muslims of India. But the religious education which it is proposed that the college should impart will be of an improved order never yet attained by any Islamic Madressah, not to speak of the Madrassahs at Deoband, Aligarh and Cawnpore. We do not hold this against the Islamic Madrassahs that they impart religious education; our complaint is that besides religious subjects they teach a lot of things which arc completely absurd and useless, both materially and spiritually. Their products arc fit for nothing but spending their days in mosques, living on charity... The Mohammedan College is not being established for Wahabis or religious recluses or scholarly hermits but for common Muslims who comprise people with different purposes in life and different temperaments. Those Muslims who wish to earn their livelihood and get on in the world, entering Government service and attaining to high posts, which is not possible without proficiency in the English language and in Western

arts and sciences, will have these taught to them[7]" Those who do not consider the learning of philosophy, logic and physics as a forbidden act will be able to learn these. For those who consider these branches of learning as heretical and who wish to learn only theology and the disciplines subsidiary to it there will be arrangements to teach these latter subjects. "One of the rumours set afloat was that the students would be made to live in European style. The decision of this question would rest with a Committee of prominent Muslims which would be formed for the management of the college. He how-ever, asserted," My personal view is, and I hold it very strongly, that Muslim boys need upbringing more than instruction. To wear them from their indolent habits, to accustom them to tidiness and cleanliness, to reform their manners and their dress, all this is very necessary. When the time comes for these things to be considered and when the Managing Committee of the college to meet to consider them, if I remain alive until then and if I get elected to the Committee, I shall plead for this with all the eloquence at my command and try to make the other members of the Committee see "eye to eye with me, I shall use all my power of speech to get the soundness, sanity and truth of my view accepted. If the other members of the Committee agree with me I shall feel assured that the evil days of the Muslims are over and that a better day is to dawn for them. If, on the other hand, my view is not accepted I shall conclude that the ill-luck of the Muslims is still lingering on." In the matter of dress he said, "we have expressed the opinion that the students should be free to dress as they- wish, except that while in the College they must put on a black alpaca gown and a red Turkish cap, which is prevalent in Turkey, Arabia and Syria, and which is now considered the peculiar headgear of the Turks,

7. See note at the end of the Chapter — -Traditional Education'

> that is to say, the Muslim... A second proposal of ours was that the students must wear an English style pair of shoes and socks. This, our enemies have twisted into implying that we propose to turn the students into Christians... A third proposal we made was that all the students should dine together and that they should do so either like the Turks, who sat at a table, or like the Arabs, who sit on the floor, but have the food served on low tables. Our opponents have represented this as eating with "knives and forks". Finally, he dealt with the question of teaching modern arts and sciences. "We wish to teach", he asserted, "the same religious disciplines like the Hadith, Exegesis, and Sharia as our forefathers used to learn. Similarly, we propose to teach the same Arabic as was taught to our forefathers. There is, however, no doubt, that we do not consider the secular sciences our fathers used to learn any longer useful; in fact, we do not even consider them to be correct. Therefore, instead of these outmoded secular sciences, we propose to teach them secular sciences which are useful in modern times and a knowledge of which is necessary to make real human beings".

One distinguishing feature of the curriculum devised by Syed Ahmed for the M.A.O. College, is an independent Department of Islamic Theology. And the syllabus included, Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Hadith, Principles of Islamic Law, Principles of Tradition, Biography and Apologetics. In theology, there were to be two sections: One for the Sunni and the other for Shias.—(any sort of religious discussion between Shias and Sunnis was strictly prohibited).

The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College started its curricular activities on 1st January 1878, when the First Year class was opened, the College having been affiliated to Calcutta University for the Intermediate Examinations. On 1st January 1881, the Third year class was opened, the College again affiliated to Calcutta University for the Bachelor of

Arts and Science degrees. The Bachelor of Law classes were introduced in 1891 and the College became affiliated to the Allahabad University. The College prospered in spite of the strong prejudices against English education among the predominating section of Muslim reactionaries. Gradually the opposition softened and even the bitter opponents started sending their wards to M.A.O. College. The highest number of students during the lifetime of Syed Ahmed was 565 of which 329 were boarders. In 1903 the total number on the rolls was 703 out of which 511 were boarders—all packed to capacity. The students came from all the provinces,—from Sindh, Baluchistan, Kathiawar and from beyond the borders of India—Burma, Persia, Arabia, Mauritius and Cape Colony, because of its reputation as a Muslim University.

The idea of making Aligarh the centre of Muslim education for the entire sub-continent by obtaining for it statutory powers to affiliate all secondary schools run by Muslims throughout India as originally envisaged by the founder did not materialise. Several years after the death of Syed Ahmed, Sir Aga Khan took up the cause of converting the M.A.O. College into a University -and through efforts made under his leadership sufficient funds were collected for the purpose but no agreement could be arrived at between the Government and the Trustees of the College regarding the ter-ritorial jurisdiction of the University in the matter of affiliation, the Government refusing resolutely to confer a charter which could enable the University to affiliate Muslim colleges outside Aligarh. Ultimately, the conditions laid down by the Government were accepted in 1921 and the Muslim University came into existence.

Besides religious instruction, another important respect in which the Aligarh College differed from all other institutions for higher education, was the attention paid to character building of those trained within its walls. Its Principals and Professors resided within the precincts and were in constant intercourse with their pupils.Well known scholars like T.W. Arnold, Jos Hoorts and Prof A.S. Triton were all lecturers once in M.A.O. College. The Aligarh college did not fail to attain visible results soon. Sir Syed Ahmed was not satisfied

with the success achieved. He cherished the dream that, "In the garden which we have planted, now such a mighty tree will arise that by it fresh power will be created and the College will grow into a University, where students from every corner of this country will make free researches with an open mind and a well developed character."

THIS DREAM WAS REALISED IN 1921

In this context, it would be interesting to recall the results of a study conducted by (*) Mashhood Ahmed on the subject, 'Islamic ethos and Muslim scientists (professors; readers and lecturers)' at the Chemistry, Zoology, Geology and Physics Departments of the Aligarh University, Mashhood Ahmed finds that younger scientists tend to be more aware and, critical of the value orientation of science. Moreover, while only 50% of the older generation admits that Islamic values and ethos could play a part in their scientific activities, over 71% of the young Muslim scientists INSIST that Islamic values can and should be made the basis of scientific enterprise. I find similar general difference with other scientists clinging to the international culture and science' with its alleged claims to all pervading neutrality and younger ones arguing for a science based on the world-view of Islam, when I visited university campuses throughout the Muslim world for the British Science Journal 'Nature'.
Syed Ahmed had declared it to be a Muslim university when the M.A.O. College was inaugurated and it fulfilled his dream. The Muslim University, Aligarh, stands as a living symbol of Syed Ahmed's amazing perseverance and foresight which inspired the Muslims of all other provinces to establish a string of Islamiah high schools and Islamiah colleges throughout the country and every one looked upon Aligarh as the bed rock of Muslim Nationalism. It was a nation in making; not simply another college.

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* Quoted from the hook 'Islamic Features' — *The Shape of Ideas to Come' By Ziauddin Sardar.

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1. Dr.S.M.Ikram:."Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan"
2. Hafiz Malik: "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan"
3. Ibid
4. G.F.I. Graham: "The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan"
5. M. Hadi Hussain: "Syed Ahmed Khan —Pioneer of Muslim Resurgence"
6. Ibid
7. **Traditional education**: (Quoted from 'Hafiz Malik') Deploring Al Durral Mukhtar's impact in discouraging Muslims from the empirical study of natural phenomena. the Select Committee almost unanimously concurred in the view that Muslim society no longer regarded the scholars of rational sciences as men of learning. The Committee observed that Sheikh Abdul Hag, the great Muhadith. the family of Shah Abdul Aziz (d. 1823) and other well known savants of the Khangah of Delhi, never taught or read rational sciences. And there was no doubt that this was one of the great causes of the decline of the intellectual sciences among the Muslims "(Alauddin al I laskafi, Grand Mufti of Damascus. who wrote Al-Durr-al-Mukhtar, was born in 1660—and died in 1677 'Darr-i-Nizamiyyah'. named after Multa Nizamuddin of Farangi Mahal (d. 1748) recognized as standard curriculum/ syllabi in all Islamic seminaries — Madrassah-i-Rahimiyyah' and 'Deohand' even after the independence. was bitterly denounced by Sir Syed as it laid too much emphasis on Arabic grammar and paid too little or no attention to secular subjects (Quoted from Dr. S.M. Ikram —"History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan")

Chapter 5

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN-HIS POLITICAL ROLE

[1]"All discussions of Syed Ahmed's role in the Muslin political awakening must be prefaced with the statement that at v he was neither a politician nor a political leader. He was essentially a reformer and his panacea for all the ills of his community was education. The connection between education and power was too obvious to be ignored."

[2] "When Hindu clerks were promoted to posts in which they could give orders, when even policemen were chosen because they were good at their books, it was clearly time for the Muslims to consider their attitude to the new education." That was the doctrine preached by the great modern Muslim of those days—Sir Syed Ahmed.

[3]"Syed Ahmed was practically a pragmatist politic and his energies in 1870s were largely devoted to further education for his community. But in 1880s he was suddenly challenged by the emergence of All India National Congress His reaction to this was not a calculated statement of political philosophy aimed at proving that Hindus and

Muslims were two nations, so much as an immediate response to what he regarded as a threat to the Mohammedan Anglo - Oriental College and those who supported it. In fact, Syed Ahmed's political views never formed a political philosophy; they arose from reaction to immediate political events and the necessity to safeguard Muslim inter-est. From 1857- 1870 Syed Ahmed concentrated on explaining to the Government the agitation which culminated in the Indian Mutiny ... His interpretation of the events of 1857 gave Syed Ahmed his first chance to step into the limelight as a spokesman for his community. The second phase of his political career was directed towards countering the secular nationalism of the Indian National Congress founded in 1885. He organized the Indian Patriotic Association in August 1888 and under its aegis, regional and isolated Islamic `Anjumans' combined to protest against the political programme of the Congress based on the assumption of majority Hindu rule. In this connection Syed Ahmed was one of the first to assess the implications of the Urdu-Hindi controversy as a reason for the cultural and political gap between the two communities. "The controversy developed into a sensitive issue since its start in 1837 and continued to polarize the two communities for the next eighty years, each community asserting its legitimate right. It was a tricky situation which brooked of no compromise; for whatever views the Hindus held on the issue passed off as 'National', they being in the majority of four-to-one and, whatever views the Muslims held was dubbed as communal and reactionary. For the Muslims, it was an All-India issue of vital national importance. From 1835, Persian which had held sway for over 800 years as the language of administration and courts was replaced by vernacular. However, it (Persian) continued to be the language of literature and communication amongst the Muslims throughout the length and breadth of India. When Syed Ahmed visited Bengal to attend the meetings of the Mohammedan Literary Society at Calcutta he addressed the meetings in Persian. (4)In the Punjab where Urdu had been established as the provincial language, Hindus demanded the adoption of the Punjabi language instead of

Urdu. In a speech at the Punjab University's commencement exercises in 1909, Dr. P.C. Chatterji demanded that Punjabi, as the spoken language of the Punjab, should become the medium of instruction. At the annual meeting of the Educational Conference at Amritsar in 1908, Punjabi muslims, under Mian Mohammad Shafi's leadership, indicated that the adoption of Punjabi would be detrimental to the interest of Punjab and demanded that Urdu should continue to be the language of schools in Punjab, since- Punjabi was the least developed language. Urdu written in Persian script was legitimately upheld as the cultural symbol by the Muslims throughout the length and breadth of India. Whereas Hindi was spoken in U.P. and Bihar only by the Hindus. As the controversy grew, Hindi was more and more sanskritized and virtually alienated from the Urdu spoken by the masses throughout U.P., C.P. and Bihar. The Hindi written in Devnagri remained the crux of the communal problem which marred the Hindu—Muslim unity.

LOCAL SELF — GOVERNMENT AND THE CHANGING FACE OF INDIA

The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and direct telegraphic communication was established between India and Britain in 1870 which tightened London's control over Indian affairs thereby making Indian policy subordinate to the imperial considerations as seen by the British Parliament. The Indian Railway system established in Dalhousie's time was greatly expanded. Economic development and modernised communications unified the country as never before. The steam power and railways, undoubtedly provided the foundation for the structure of industrial India outside the North Western Province and there was a rapid growth in Act of 1850 Presidency towns. Dalhousie's Act of 1850 had permitted the setting up of town committees empowered to levy indirect taxes and Lord Mayo enlarged their powers over education, sanitation and local public works. In 1872 a liberal Gladstone w4s the Prime Minister and he returned to power again in 1884 which made it easy for Lord Ripon

to introduce measures more comprehensive than the previous ones. In 1872 Bombay Corporation was established and soon, there were Municipal Corporations in the cities of Calcutta and Madras as well. Vernacular Press Act clamped in 1878 was repealed in 1882 which ushered in a new era in the history of Indian press. The Press in India had grown rapidly. 'Bengali Samachar' came up in 1816 probably at the same time as Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Persian paper `Mirat ul Akhbar', 'Bombay Times', `Statesman''Hindu', `Amrit Bazar Patrika' and 'Patriot' also made their appearance more or less at the same time. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 books and ideas flowed in freely from England. From Allahabad also an English paper was started by a distinguished South Indian journalist just some time after the Mutiny. All these papers provided a continuation of schooling in education and ideas eminently well and opened a window to view the affairs of the world to the English educated youth. Within two decades of the reforms introduced in 1861 active well educated intelligentsia came up to the forefront of political leadership. The Muslims had only one English newspaper published from Calcutta. The Hindus had already been as well educated as the Eurasian com-munity, Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Bramhu Samaj, renaissance was surging forward and being fed, as it was, by heavy anti-Muslim overtones, was already contaminating the North West provinces and the Bengali Hindus firmly entrenched in administrative positions emerged as the champions of Hindi in Devnagri script in Bihar and North West provinces.

SYED AHMED ON REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS (SPEECH DELIVERED ON 12 JANUARY 1883)

In 1882 - 84 Syed Ahmed—now Sir Syed Ahmed—was a Member of the Viceroy's Council. On 12th January 1883, in the course of discussion on the Central Provinces **'LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL'** in the Legislative Council of

Lord Ripon expressed his views on the principle of election in its practical application to India. Sir Syed Ahmed said:-

> [5] "The principle of self-government by means of representative institutions is perhaps the greatest and noblest lesson which the beneficence of England will teach India. But, in borrowing from England the system of representative institutions, it is of the greatest importance to remember those sociopolitical matters in which India is distinguishable from England. The present socio-political condition of India is the outcome of the history of centuries of despotism and misrule, of the dominance of race over race, of religion over religion. The traditions, and feelings of the people and their present economic and political conditions are in a vast measure influenced and regulated by the history of the past, the humanizing effects of the British rule have not yet demolished the remembrance of the days of strife and discord which preceded the peace brought to India by the British supremacy. India, a continent in itself, is inhabited by vast populations of different races and different creeds; the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart; the system of caste is still dominant and powerful. In one and the same district the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities; and, whilst one section of the population commands wealth and commerce, the other may possess learn-ing and influence. One section may be numerically larger than the other, and the standard of enlighten-ment which one section of the community has reached may be far higher than that attained by the rest of the population. One community may be fully alive to the importance of securing representation on the Local Boards and District Councils, whilst the other may he wholly indifferent to such matters. Under these circumstances, it is hardly possible to deny that the introduction .of representative institutions in India will he attended with considerable

difficulties and socio-political risks. In a country like England where the distinction of race no longer exists, where the difference of sectarianism in religious matters have been mitigated by the advance of toleration, the matter does not present, such difficulties. The community of race and creed makes the English people one and the same nation. And the advance of education had rendered smaller differences wholly insignificant in matters connected with the welfare of the country at large. Christian constituencies do not object to return Jews to rep-resent their interests in Parliament, and, indeed, for socio-political purposes, it may be said that the whole population of England forms but one com-munity. It is obvious, of course, cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is comprised of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious dis-tinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the Local Boards and the District Councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed, and the distinction of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country' at large, the system of election, pure and simple, can-not be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller com-munity, and the ignorant public would hold Government

> responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever".

Syed Ahmed's view point was accepted by the Viceroy (Lord Ripon) who agreed to the amendment of the Bill so as to provide for two-thirds of the seats being filled by election and one-third by official nomination. Had the Bill been passed as originally presented, the Muslims would not have had much of a chance to play their rightful part in the self-government, and, since it became the main training ground for leadership, one can well imagine what effect this would have had on the development of the Muslims in general.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT

Relevant extracts from the Committee's Report (Enclosure to Government of India despatch, dated 6th November 1888) is reproduced below:

> (6) "...An important consideration which arises in this connection is, that due provision should be made for the presence in both Divisions of the Council of a fair proportion of members from the two great classes, Hindus and. Muhammedans, into which the population is divided, so far as concerns the First Division, no difficulty need arise, as the election for that Division will have no reference to electoral circles, and the Government may prescribe the proportion of Mohammedans and Hindus to be elected.

"But this will not be possible in connection with the Second Division, the elections for which must proceed on the basis of electoral circles. It will therefore be occasionally necessary for the Government to use its reserve for nomination for the purpose of adjusting marked inequalities in the results of the election. In this the object to be aimed at

should be that `caeteris paribus' the members drawn from the two great classes of the community—Hindus and Mohammedans—should bear to each other a numerical proportion approaching. as nearly as may be thought desirable the proportion that Hindus bear to Mohammedans in the Provincial population".
".... It may also be necessary that the interest of minorities, such as the Parsecs in Bombay and Mohammedans in Madras, should be provided for by direct nomination by Government."
[7]"Viceroy Lord Dufferin left India in December 1888. His successor Lord Landsdowne continued to carry out his policy which ultimately was reflected in the Indian Councils Act of 1892. This Act increased the strength of the legislative councils, both Indian and Provincial and empowered the Governor-General in "Council to frame regulations as to the conditions of nomination of the 'additional members.' The regulations prescribed, inter alia, that the majority of the non-official scats should be filled on the recommendation of such bodies as municipalities, district hoards, chambers of commerce, universities etc. The term, 'election' was `sedulously' eschewed, and nominations by recommending bodies came to be accepted as a matter of course, and the fact of election to an appreciable proportion of the non-official seats was thus firmly established.
[8]Through his speeches in the Viceroy's Council and his speeches at Lucknow and Meerut Sir Syed had provided astute and correct policy direction and dynamic leadership on the issue of competitive examination to civil services and the principle of 'election'. Lest his voice might be treated as a lonely voice, a petition was submitted to the House of Commons signed by 40,000 Muslims from all over India—from 70 cities concerning the constitutional proposals. Excerpts arc reproduced below:-

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7. Quoted from V.P. Menon: The Transfer of Power in India'.
NOTE: The word 'Serupulously' faithfully meets the Muslim aspirations and more accurately reflects the intentions of the Government.

MUSLIM PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON CONGRESS CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS (April 1890)

To the Honourable Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain And Ireland in Parliament assembled: The humble petition of the undersigned Indian Mohammedans.

1. That your petitioners believe that the effect of introducing this principle would be to destroy that even handed justice which has been hitherto the basis of British rule and would place them and other minorities in an almost intolerable subjection to classes actively hostile to their welfare.

    1. That the Indian Muhammedans, although only one-fifth of the inhabitants of India are the largest single community of 50,000,000.
    2. That through its history, traditions, bravery and intelligence the Indian Mohammedan nation is a factor of great importance in Indian politics.
    3. That we are dispersed throughout India among the multitude of other races and castes inhabiting the continent they are in most parts of India in a consider-able minority and that therefore in any system of election they must of necessity be outvoted.
    4. That your Honourable members should not be led into supposing by the amount of noise and stir produced by the National Congress party.
    5. That any system of proportionate representation would in no way protect Mohammedan interests, inasmuch as the Hindus of various races would be in a majority of four to one.
    6. That your petitioners pray that your Hon'ble House will retain the principle of nomination by Government of all members of Councils.

The Councils Act of 1892 also gave to the councils the right of asking questions and discussing but not voting on budget.

DEVELOPING THREAT OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION TOWARDS INDIA. BRITISH INDIA REALISES THE NEED FOR BUILDING UP OF A SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER

It was the year 1885. Events were taking place in Central Asia which held a potential threat to Indian Empire. Having occupied Khiva in 1873 Russia did not advance for ten years until 1884 when it occupied Mcrve. The new Russian frontier moved much nearer to India. The Government in London changed in April 1880, the Conservatives under Disraeli were replaced by Liberals under Gladstone and the main plank of the general election in England was the Afghan policy. Viceroy Lord Lytton resigned without waiting for a recall. Lord Ripon succeeded him as Viceroy. Lord Ripon had written to the Secretary of State, "as the Russians approach our frontiers more closely, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how such intrigues can be best met and defeated." Viceroy Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Ripon, was also worried about the Russian designs. In a personal letter to Lord Ray dated 17 May 1885 Lord Dufferin made mention of Mr. Hume and his proposed Political Convention. He wrote, "the Russians seem to be making further difficulties.... in an earlier letter he had writ-ten, he said,"... that among other factors the Russian danger was making the task of Indian administration more and more difficult. Watchful Britishers in India, Mr. Hume included, could well see the urgent need of organising a rational interior as preferable to the building up of a scientific frontier. The proposed Indian, National Congress could fulfil these needs, was Mr. Hume's correct calculation".

It is clear that in its concept and inception, the Indian National Congress was a British imperialist baby but soon, the British were outwitted in course of time".

ILBERT BILL (1883) AND EDUCATED INDIANS

[9]"Lord Ripon believed that the new class of highly educated Indians consisted of men who were mature, competent, moderate and loyal and who possessed legitimate ambitions and aspirations and wanted to remove one racial distinction through Ilbert Bill which sought to enable Indian Sessions Judges to try Europeans, a practice already prevalent in Presidency towns. This attempt raised a storm of protest by non-official Europeans and he had to bow down. Ripon made a compromise with the Anglo-Indian opposition. The Bill was stoutly supported by all Indians, including Sir Syed Ahmed. The Ilbert Bill had left a rankling sense of humiliation in the mind of Indians. Thus started confrontation—a national confrontation with the Government, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee founded the National Conference and the first session was held at Calcutta. A second session was held in December 1885. It was the first step in the direction of independent political activity under Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, who, by the way, was on very friendly terms with Sir Syed Ahmed".

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Just at the same time as the National Conference was holding its second sessions at Calcutta in December 1885, the Indian National Congress was holding its first session at Bombay on 28-30 December 1885.

A.O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, thought that he had taken the steam out of the ship of Surendra Nath Bannerjec. A close associate and biographer of A.O. Hume and a strong supporter of the Congress, in his address to the 5th session (Bombay) said:-

"... that in their scheme for the invasion of India, the Russian generals depended for success on a hope of raising of the Indian population".

The British founding fathers of the Indian National Congress proved wrong and their trust betrayed as later events have proved. Viceroy Dufferin wrote in private to the Secretary of state on 25th April 1886 about "the bastardly disloyally of a small clique of Bengalis in Calcutta whose organ is 'Mirror'.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS ABOUT LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS AND COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS (28-30 DECEMBER 1885)

(10) "That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the eveation of similar Councils for the North Western Provinces and Oudh and also for the Punjab) essential: and holds that all budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpolate the Executive in regard to all branches of administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executives of the power which should he vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities".

"That in the opinion of this Congress the Competitive Examinations now held in England, for the first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should, henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, he held" simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as possible identical in nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further ex-aminations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should he

filled by competitive examinations calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Government Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years".

Sir Syed Ahmed looked through the Hindu game long before the inauguration of the Congress in 1885 and had shrewdly advised the Muslims to keep away and aloof from the Congress for he had very clearly foreseen the shape of things to come; probably, he knew for certain that the rising pseudo-religious sentiment of the Hindu revivalists will prevail and mar the evolution of genuine national outlook transcending the barriers of race, caste and creed. The stand taken by Syed Ahmed stands vindicated by a resolution moved in the third Congress session of 1887 held at Madras, seeking to prohibit cow-slaughter. Who can blame Syed Ahmed of being biased or bigoted when he cautioned and advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress? He had already defined the Muslim position in his speech of 12th January 1883 in the Viceroy's Council. His speech had made a tremendous impression and elicited favourable response from the Viceroy as may be seen from the extracts from the Committee's Report. (enclosure to Government of India Despatch dated 6th Nov 1888). Still there was a lacuna to be filled.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF 1887
ASSEMBLED AT MADRAS

Raja Sekhareswar Roy of Tahirpore, Bengal, gave notice of a resolution urging the prohibition of 'cow-slaughter'. Congress was supposed to be a mixed gathering and `national' in its concept. It was further stated:-

> "Our critics regarded the National Congress as a Hindu Congress and the opposition papers described it as such. We are straining every nerve to secure the co-operation of our Mohammedan

> fellow-countrymen in this great national work. We sometimes paid the fares of Mohammedan delegates and offered them other facilities".

SIR SYED AHMED TAKES UP THE CHALLENGE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Sir Syed Ahmed was a democrat every inch and he took his people into confidence with regard to the challenge posed by the Government sponsored Indian National Congress. He dubbed the Indian National Congress as irresponsible and questioned its credentials. His speeches dated 28th January 1887 delivered at Lucknow and the speech delivered at Meerut on 16th March 1888 arc a classic and are rightly considered as a landmark in Muslim national struggle setting the pace and establishing a firm base for the evolution of Muslim political thought in the following decades; the second landmark and taking off stage was the Pakistan Resolution of 23rd March 1940. The two speeches are historical in significance. These are reproduced below:-

SIR SYED AHMED ON CONGRESS DEMANDS ABOUT LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS AND COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS (SPEECH DELIVERED AT LUCKNOW ON 28 DECEMBER 1887)

Syed Ahmed, speaking at Lucknow on 28 December 1887 on the issue of Legislative Councils and Competitive Examinations for entry into civil services and Covenanted services said:-

(11) "...Every one can understand that the first condition for the introduction of competitive examinations into a country is that all people in that country, from the highest to the lowest, should belong to one nation. In such a country

no particular difficulties are likely to arise. The second case is that of a country in which there are two nationalities which have become so united as to be practically one nation. England and Scotland are a case in point. In the past many wars were waged between those countries and many acts of bravery were done on both sides, but those times have gone, and they are now like one nation. But this is not the case with our country, which is peopled with different nations. Consider the Hindus alone. The Hindus of our province, the Bengalis of the East, and the Mahrattas of Deccan, do not form one nation. If, in your opinion, the peoples of India do form one nation, then no doubt competitive examination may be introduced, but if this is not so, then competitive examination is not suited to the country. The third case is that of a country in which there are different nationalities which are on an equal footing as regards the competition, whether they take advantage of it or not.

Now, I ask you, have Mohammedans attained to such a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with Hindus or not ? Most certainly, not. Now, I take Mohammedans and the Hindus of our Province together, and ask whether they are able to compete with the Bengalis or not? Most certainly, not. When this is the case, how can competitive examination be introduced in our country. Think for a moment what would be the result, if all appointments were given by competitive examination. Over all races, not only over Mohammedans but of Rajas of high position and the brave Rajputs who have not forgotten the swords of their ancestors, would be placed as ruler, a Bengali who at the sight of a table knife, would crawl under his chair....

The second demand of the National Congress is that the people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council. They want to copy the English House of Lords and the House of Commons. The elected members are to be like members of the House of Commons; the appointed members like the House of Lords. Now, let us suppose the Viceroy's Council is made in this manner. And let us suppose that of all that we have universal suffrage, as in America, and that

everybody, chamars and all, have votes. And first suppose that all the Mohammedan electors vote for a Mohammedan member and all Hindu electors vote for a Hindu member, and now count how many votes the Mohammedan members have and how many the Hindu. It is certain that the Hindu members will have four times as many because their population is four times as numerous. Therefore, we can prove by mathematics that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Mohammedan. And now how can the Mohammedan guard his interests? It would be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other only one. In the second place, suppose that the electorate be limited. Some methods of qualification must be made, for example, that people with a certain income shall be electors.
Now I ask you, 0 Mohammedans. 'Weep at your condition. Have you such wealth that you can compete with the Hindus? Most certainly, not. Suppose for example, that an income of Rs. 5,000/- a year be fixed on, how many Mohammedans will there be ? Which party will have the larger number of votes ? I put aside the case that by a rare stroke of luck a blessing comes through the roof and some Mohammedan is elected. In the normal case no single Mohammedan will secure a seat in the Viceroy's Council. The whole Council will consists of Babu so-and-so Chuckerbutty. Again, what will be the result for the Hindus of our Province, though their condition be better than that of the Muhammedans? What will be the result for those Rajputs the swords of whose ancestors are still wet with blood? And what will be the result for the peace of the country? Is there any hope that we and our brave brothers, the Rajputs, can endure it in silence? Now, we will suppose a third kind of election. Suppose a rule to be made that a suitable number of Mohammedans and Hindus are to be chosen. I am aghast when I think on what grounds this number is likely to be determined. Of necessity proportion to total population will be taken. So there will be one member for us to every four for the Hindus. No other condition can be laid down. Then they will have four votes and we shall have one. Now, I will take a fourth supposition. Leaving aside the question as to

the suitability of members with regard to population, let us suppose that a rule is laid down that half the members are to be Mohammedans and half Hindus, and that the Mohammedans and Hindus arc each to elect their own men. Now, I ask you to pardon me for saying something which I say with a sore heart. In the whole nation there is no person who is equal to the Hindus in fitness for the work'.

SIR SYED AHMED'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS TO KEEP ALOOF FROM AGITATION (SPEECH DELIVERED AT MEERUT ON 16 MARCH 1888)

(12) "If we also have some complaint against the English Government, it is no wonderful thing. People are not even grateful to God for His government. I do not tell you to ask nothing from Government. I will myself fight on your behalf for legitimate objects. But ask for such things as they can give you, or such things to which, having due regard to the administration of the country, you can claim a right. If you ask for such things as Government cannot give you then it is not the fault of the Government (it is) the folly of the askers...."

"Therefore, the method we ought to adopt is this, that we should hold ourselves aloof from this political uproar and reflect on our condition, that we are behind them in education and are deficient in wealth. Then we should try to improve the education of our Nation."

Now our condition is this, that the Hindus, if they wish, can ruin us in an hour. The internal trade is entirely in their hands. The external trade is in possession of the English. Never imagine that Government will put difficulties in your way in trade. But the acquisition of all these things depends on education. When you shall have fully acquired education, and true education shall have made its home in your hearts, then you will know what rights you can legitimately demand of the British Government. And the result of this will be

that you will also obtain honourable positions in the Government, and will acquire wealth in the higher ranks of trade.

"But to make friendship with the Bengalis in their mischievous political proposals, and join in them, can bring only harm. If my nation follows my advice they will draw benefit from trade and education. Otherwise, remember that Government will keep a very sharp eye on you because you are very quarrelsome, very brave, great soldiers and great fighters."

Citing his own example, Syed Ahmed said:

"Let us suppose that the two communities are given an equal number of scats, forgive me, if out of the anguish of my heart, I say something which may sound rude. There will not be a single man from the whole Muslim community who will be a match for the Hindus in the Viceroy's Council. I have myself been a member of Viceroy's Council for four years. Throughout that period I always felt that I was the poorest and least able of all the members. Also point out to me the Muslims, who, if elected, will give up their business and go to Calcutta and Simla to attend the sessions of the Council hearing the expenses out of their own pocket (or perhaps out of subscriptions made by the community), to say nothing of the hardships of travel...."

"Everybody knows that agitation by Bangalis is not agitation by the whole of India. But even if we suppose that it is, do you think that the Government is so feeble as to be unable to suppress this agitation?"

"The Government has already taken a step forward allowing the Indians to participate in the task of governance. This happened in Lord Ripon's time. I was then a member of the Viceroy's Council. Lord Ripon was an extremely well meaning, good-natured and enlightened ruler. Unfortunately, he did not get enough support because of his radical ideas. There came up before the Council the Bill relating to Local Boards and Municipal Boards which proposed that all members of these bodies should be 'elected'. My friends, I am not a conservative, but a great liberal. But to let my liberal ideas made me forget my community's welfare would have

been foolish. So I spoke of the 'elective' principle. If I am not to be thought to be boasting, I may say that it was my speech which made Lord Ripon change his mind, with the result that two thirds of local bodies' members were provided for by election and one-third by Government nominations. Not in a single district is there parity between the Hindus and the Muslims, Can anyone say that the Muslims will overpower the Hindus and become masters in the domain of self-government. The other day, I met in Calcutta, an eminent barred gentleman of good family. "A terrible thing has happened" he complained. "There were 18 members to be elected in my city. Not a single Muslim got elected. I am now requesting the Government to nominate Muslim members and I am hoping that it will nominate me. This is the state of affairs in every city." I tell you truthfully" Syed Ahmed said in winding up his speech that "the only thing that will help you to attain a position of eminence is higher education. So long as we do not produce men equipped with it we shall remain backward and downtrodden and never win the respect we desire."

"We Muslims were until now quiet, unconcerned with the Babus of Bengal, the Hindus of the North-West Provinces and the Europeans or Eurasians resident in India and what they were doing. But we have now been interfered with. In some districts pressure has been brought to bear on Muslims to join the Congress. The deplorable part of it is that it was not well-to-do and prominent Muslims who were approached but those who were amenable to pressure. In some districts the power of the administration was used to compel them; in other, appeals were made to them that, unless they joined the Congress, it could not get on with its work. In some cases people joined on their own initiative, fearing that, if they did not, they would find it difficult to earn their livelihood. Even monetary inducement was not refrained from. Who does not know all this? Who does not know the reasons why the few Muslims of the North West Provinces who joined did so? These are no better than hired men. They were taken to Madras and exhibited there as nawab-zadas, raeeses, leaders of the Muslims ... That was why,

much against my. wont, I made a political speech at Lucknow in which I pointed out the harm being done to us by the Congress; and that is again, why I am speaking to you today. I wish to prove to you that except for Badruddin Tayyabji who is an eminent man and for whom I have the greatest respect, no Muslim who matters has joined the Congress. Tayyabji has made a mistake. He has written two letters to me, one of which was written soon after my Lucknow speech was published. What he desires me to do is to point out to him things proposed by the Congress which are against the interests of the Muslims, so that he can prevent their being discussed by it. But the trouble is that everything that the Congress is proposing runs counter to the interests of Muslims."
"I do not say that everything about the British Government is good. .. nor do I say that you should not demand anything of the Government. I myself will fight to get for you what you demand legitimately but you should demand only things which Government can give you and for which you are fit.... The way we should adopt is to remain aloof from all this political hullaballoo and ponder over our own condition. We should take note of the fact that we are backward in education, especially in higher education, and in wealth. So we should try to improve ourselves in these respects. Let Hindus retain their trade; for it is not in us to be petty grocers or cotton dealers. Try to wrest from the British the trade in the products of our country of which they have the monopoly and from which they make huge profits. Tell them not to bother themselves about it anymore. We shall ourselves carry the hides and skins of our country to England and sell them there. Tell them not to collect the bones of our dead animals. We shall ourselves collect them and export them to America. Tell them not to load the foodgrains and cotton of our country on their ships and take them to Europe. Rest assured that the Government will not interfere with your trading activities. But, what you need to achieve all these things is education."
Syed Ahmed loved the Muslims but never hated the Hindus and those who view his bitter opposition to Indian

National Congress as a proof of his virulent communalism are themselves the authors of Hindu communalism, the motto of Sir Syed Ahmed was to live and let live in peace and amity; for the prosperity of the country and partake of it with pride. Syed Ahmed was cautious since he had been through that great carnage that followed the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Sir Syed wrote to Badruddin Tayyahji, "What the Government might regard as 'liberty' in the case of Hindus, it would regard as`Mutiny" in the case of Mus-lims. What happened during the Mutiny? The Hindus started it. The Muslims, foolhardy as always, jumped into the fray. The Hindus washed off the stain by bathing in the Ganges but whole families of Muslims were wiped out and ruined."

A.O. Hume, the founding father of the Indian National Congress, dubbed Syed Ahmed and his followers as 'fossils' and men 'wanting in understanding' and even tried to black-mail Syed Ahmed. But soon, Dufferin found out "The das-tardly disloyally of a small clique of Bengalis in Calcutta whose organ was Mirror'. Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces signalised himself by his opposition to the Congress and he expressed himself averse to the holding of the fourth session of Congress at Allahabad. Acrimonious correspondence was exchanged be-tween Sir Auckland Colvin and Hume, the former describing the Congress Movement as 'premature and mischievous' for it sought to create schism into two opposing forces in a country where people could not be expected to show restraint of criticism of a mature parliamentary system. Sir Auckland Colvin was particularly disturbed at the Congress leaders touring the districts and preaching, what he called, `hostility to the Government'. He alleged that the leaders exploited the courtesies extended to them by the Government personnel to claim official sympathy with their views.

Badruddin Tyabji, in his letter to A.O. Flume (27 Oct 1888) observed: "The prime object of the Congress was to unite the different communities and provinces into one and

*All speeches of Sir Syed and excerpts about Ilbert Bill and Indian National Congress quoted from 'Pakistan in the Making-Documents and Readings' by-latif Ahmed Sherwani.